

**Bridging State and Civil Society at the ‘Grassroots’:
Networks, Collaboration and Local Governance
in Two Rural Thai Communities**

**A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

Thunradee Taveekan

B.PA. (Public Policy), M.A. (Public Administration)

School of Global, Urban and Social Studies

College of Design and Social Context

RMIT University

August 2013

Declaration

I certify that except where due acknowledgement has been made, the work is that of the author alone, the work has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, to qualify for any other academic award, the content of the thesis is the result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research program, and, any editorial work, paid or unpaid, carried out by a third party is acknowledged, and, ethics procedures and guideline have been followed.

Thunradee Taveekan

August 2013

Dedication

To my parents and my Thai, Australian and New Zealand families,
and my beloved country, Thailand

Acknowledgements

I am very pleased to recall and take this moment to acknowledge the supported people who have played an important role in my PhD epic journey since 2007.

First of all, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my multi-disciplinary supervision team for their contribution. I am greatly indebted to my senior supervisor, Associate Professor Paul Battersby, for his understanding and professional supervision with valuable guidance, ongoing patience and strong commitment. I am very grateful to both of my associate supervisors, Professor Robin Goodman and Dr Jeffrey Brian King for their advice, encouragement, inspiration and compassion, specifically, Dr Jeffery Brian King who involved with the team at the last stage of my candidature. His significant contributions have made the accomplishment to this thesis. I also am thankful and all participants in my research project for their warm welcoming, valuable time and insight information into the ‘reality’.

In addition, I am very thankful to HDR Coordinators, staffs and friends at the School of Global, Urban and Social Studies, RMIT University for their support, assistant and friendship along the way of my PhD course. They are Professor Pavla Miller, Associate Professor Suellen Murray, Dr Jonathan Makuwira, Brian Walsh, Serena Lim, and Jenni Morris. My pecial thanks go to all of my PhD fellows who have shared their kind support and academic input especially Dr David Trainham. I am thankful to my health treatment team, Dr Teera, Dr. Kosahi, Dr Robert, Simon and Murray.

I also acknowledge the paid work done to edit this thesis by professional editor Dr. Paul Jones which was undertaken in accordance to professional standards and the guidelines of RMIT University.

My sincere thanks go to the great support from Thailand and Thai communities. It was an honor to receive the full scholarship from the Royal Thai Government organized by the Office of the Civil Service Commission. I am thankful to Minister Counsellors (Education); Ms Thanida Techachokvivat and Ms Kaewta Srisung, and the staffs; Khun Bass and Khun Somchit at Office of Educational affairs, Royal Thai Embassy in Canberra for their kind cooperation and support. Moreover, I am grateful to receive the financial support and study leave approval from Faculty of Management Sciences, Prince of Songkla University, Thailand. Special Thanks go to my lecturers, who are now my admired colleagues at Department of Public Administration, and my former teachers at all levels since I was young. I would like to acknowledge the robust support from Assistant Professor. Bussabong Chaijaroenwatana and Associate Professor Akom Chaikaew for their initial drive to make the first step of my PhD journey came true. Additionally, I am thankful for the kind support from the old and new friends both in Thailand and Melbourne, Australia.

Finally, I would express a deep sense of gratitude to my parents, Mom Budsaya and Dad Pipop for their magnificent guardianship. Additionally, I am thankful for remarkable support from my dear sister, Pimmanee, and my Australian family, Helen, and my New Zealand family, Jeff and Barb. I am heartfelt appreciate to all their unconditional love, great faith, kind spirit, deep understanding and endless support.

Without them all, my PhD achievement would not be possible to be accomplished.

Abstract

This thesis examines the impact of changing governance concepts and approaches on the interaction between public authorities and civil society actors within the environmental policy domain at the local community in Thailand. More specifically, it considers the nature of engagements between state agencies and community that take place within a governance context. Governance is an issue of increasing concern at all levels internationally and across a wide range of disciplines. This concern is associated with the changing social fabric of networks responding to complexity of problems in an increasingly globalised world. The search for solutions for dealing with ‘wicked problems’ has led to new frontiers and new ways of working aimed at engaging civil society in governance mechanisms. New meaning and approaches of governance have evolved and have been employed all around the world including Thailand since the beginning of the globalisation era in the last 1990s. However, there is a little known about the effects of those changes in Thailand as the mode of governance has progressively shifted from hierarchy to market and then network governance. Based on that history of change, this thesis explores the significance of changing governance approaches in the context of local communities in Thailand with the attempt to using governance lenses to observe the ‘reality’.

This thesis examines the evolving management of local affairs from the broad view at the national level using historical contextual approach to understand the determination of change that have affected local administration globally and nationally. Next, the research furthers the investigation by employing ethnographical case study at the community level. The survey, interview and participation observation techniques have been used to generate the data. The research data findings have been treated with interpretative methods informed by ground theory, which allowed key themes to emerge. Such emerging themes had been discussed and synthesized within the light of previous literature. The research findings reveal the evolution of Thai local administration has gradually shifted from an absolute hierarchical mode of

governance toward 'modern' local governance involving network forms of collaboration in environmental policy. This movement represents a move that is characterized by 'less government' and 'more governance'. Finally, it proposes a 'Collaborative Local Governance' framework that acknowledges the significance of localised conditions to consider appropriate governance network arrangements in local communities.

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Abstract	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	xiii
List of Figures	xiv
 PART I: RESEARCH FOUNDATION	 1
 Chapter 1: The Research Study Setting	 2
1.1 Introduction	2
1.2 The Statement of the Problem	5
1.3 Research Aim and Objectives	8
1.4 Research Question	8
1.5 Rationale and Significance of the Study	9
1.6 Thesis Overview	9
 Chapter 2: Literature Review	 13
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 Governance	13
2.2.1 A Broad Definition of Governance	14
2.2.1.1 Governance Means Governance Structure	14
2.2.1.2 Governance and governing process	15
2.2.1.3 Governance Means State-Society Relationships	16
2.2.2 Exploring Relevant Key Terms of Governance	18
2.2.3 Scope of the Research Study in the Light of Governance	19

2.3 Overview of Network Governance	20
2.3.1 Defining Network Governance	20
2.3.2 Brief Development and Nature of Network Governance	23
2.3.3 Reviewing the Relevant Literature	25
2.3.3.1 Common Themes and Topics	25
2.3.3.2 Networks and Governance Studies in Thailand	27
2.4 Conclusion: Emerging Issues in Governance and Network Governance Research – the Research Gap	35
 Chapter 3: Research Design	 38
3.1 Introduction	38
3.2 Research Philosophy	38
3.2.1 Ontological and Epistemological Foundations	38
3.2.2 Researcher Position within the Research Position	40
3.2.3 From Philosophical Foundation to Research Methodology	42
3.3 Research Methodology, Approaches and Techniques	45
3.3.1 Qualitative Research Strategy	45
3.3.2 Research Approaches and Techniques	47
3.3.3 Research Techniques and Procedures	49
3.3.3.1 Data Collection/Data Generation	49
3.3.3.2 Data Analysis	50
3.4 Research Ethical Considerations	52
 PART II: RESEARCH EVIDENCE	 53
 Chapter 4: From Local Administration to Local Governance	 54
4.1 Introduction	54
4.2 King Rama V (1868): From Local Order to Local Administration	56
4.2.1 Reordering the Geographies and Structures of Social Control at National and Provincial Levels	57
4.2.2 Beyond regional change: Establishment of Local Administration	59

4.2.3 Ongoing development: Overlaps and Contradictions in Local Administration Systems	60
4.3 In Search of Democracy: The coup d'état of 1932	62
4.3.1 Political Change and Nationalism	62
4.3.2 The establishment of Provincial Administrative Organisation	65
4.4 The Suspension Period of Local Government: Military Authoritarian Regime	66
4.4.1 Authoritarian Political Culture	66
4.4.2 The creation of Pattaya City and Central Control	68
4.5 Popular Uprising and Its Aftermath	70
4.5.1 Anti-Communist Policy at the Local Level	72
4.5.2 The Emergence of Civil Society as a New Actor	73
4.6 Local Government in Transition	74
4.6.1 Corruption and Social Movement	74
4.7 Local Government in the Globalisation Era	75
4.7.1 The 1997 'People's Constitution' and Decentralization in progress	76
4.7.2 Local Reform Movement	
4.8 Tradition and Authority in the Local Village	80
4.8.1 National tradition: Patronage system, Sakdina and Authoritarianism	80
4.8.2 Regional Differences	82
4.9 Conclusion	87
 Chapter 5: The Practice of Khao Kok Community (KKC)	 88
5.1 Introduction	88
5.2 Khao Kok Community Profile and its Environmental Concerns	88
5.3 Data Generation	90
5.4 The Formation of Network Based Structure	93
5.4.1 The Contextual Influence	93
5.4.2 The presence of Network Arrangements and Key Actors	95

5.5 The Governing Process and Policy Cycle	104
5.5.1 Participating Through the Policy Process	104
5.5.2 The Governance of the KKC Network Arrangement	117
5.6 Conclusion	120

Chapter 6: The Practice of Klong Hoy Khong Community (KHKC)

	121
6.1 Introduction	
6.2 KHKC Profile and its Environmental Concerns	121
6.3 Data Generation	125
6.4 Formation of Network Arrangement	127
5.4.1 The Contextual Influence	127
6.4.2 The presence of Network Arrangements and Key Actors	130
6.5 The Governing Process and Policy Cycle	135
5.5.1 Participating Through the Policy Process	137
5.5.2 The Governance of the KKC Network Arrangement	144
6.6 Conclusion	142

PART III: RESEARCH SYNTHESIS

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1 Introduction	148
7.1.1 Research Aim and Research Questions revisited	150
7.1.2 Re-conceptualising and defining Key Concepts	152
7.2 Interpreting and describing interactions between public authorities and civil society associations in the CLG approach	156
7.2.1 Unpacking Contextual Influence	156
7.2.2 Unpacking Network - Based Form as Structural Change	159
7.2.2.1 Similarity in the formation of governance network	160
7.2.2.2 Difference in the formation of governance networks	164

7.2.3 Unpacking Governing Process	167
7.2.3.1 Similarity of Governing Process in the Two Cases	175
7.2.3.2 Differences in Governing Process in the Two Cases	178
7.2.3.3 The Changing Nature of Governing Process	180
7.3 Explaining Practice under the CLG Approach through Comparison of Two Case Studies	182
7.3.1 Unpacking Relationships	183
7.3.1.1 Explaining changing relationship through re-positioning	185
7.3.1.2 Explaining changing relationship through re-structuring	189
7.3.2 Unpacking the Conditions	196
7.3.2.1 Trust in the Two Case Studies	197
7.3.2.2 The correlation of level of trust and level of participation	199
7.4 Emerging Tentative Conceptual Framework of local governance toward network governance approach	203
Chapter 8: Conclusion	206
8.1 Introduction	206
8.2 Linking Research Aim, Key Research Findings and the Conclusions from the Research Discussion	207
8.2.1 Conclusion: The evolution of Thai Local Governance	214
8.2.2 Emerging of Collaborative Local Governance (CLG)	214
8.3 Implications of the Research	216
8.4 The Original Contribution of this Research	221
8.5 Limitations of the research	222
8.6 Recommendation for Further Research	222
References	224
Appendices	242

List of Tables

Table 2.1 - A summary of broad definitions and characteristics of governance	17
Table 2.2 - Summary of selected literature on previous work on network governance	26
Table 3.1 - The connection between research philosophy and research methodology	42
Table 4.1 - Regional variations in per capita income and poverty	82
Table 4.2 - Regional differences - selected welfare indicators	83
Table 4.3 - The distinguish context characteristics between northeast and sound regions	86
Table 5.1 - Questionnaire Respondents' Demographics in KKC	91
Table 5.2 - Interview Participants' Demographics in KKC	92
Table 5.3 - Basic Institutional Capacity Assessment in KKC	97
Table 5.4 - Participation of civil society associations in local environmental policy process – KKC	107
Table 6.1 - Questionnaire Respondents' Demographics in KHKC	125
Table 6.2 - Interview Participants' Demographics in KKC	126
Table 6.3 - Basic Institutional Capacity Assessment in KHKC	134
Table 6.4 - Participation of civil society associations in local environmental policy process – KHKC	135
Table 7.1 - The interpretive framework for research discussion and emerging themes	151
Table 7.2 - Summary of Network Structure Characteristics from two case studies	167
Table 7.3 – Local governance network in governance process in relation to policy cycle	170
Table 8.1 - A summary of emerging themes and key research finding regarding sub research questions and its conclusions	208

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 - Structure of the thesis	12
Figure 4.1 - Development of the changing mode of governance in Thailand	78
Figure 5.1 - Key actors in network based structure within the cross sectoral Boundaries	96
Figure 5.2 - Communication between public sector and civil society group in KKC	114
Figure 6.1 - Key actors in network based structure within the cross sectoral boundaries	141
Figure 7.1 - Representation of the complexity and different characteristics between public sector and civil society within the emerging network-based form.	164
Figure 7.2 - The cycle of the governing process in KKC Case	172
Figure 7.3 - The cycle of the governing process in KHKC Case	174
Figure 7.4 - The dual cycles of governing process of two case studies	179
Figure 7.5 – The emerging of tentative conceptual framework of Collaborative Local Governance (CLG)	205

PART I



Research Foundation

Chapter 1

The Research Study Setting

1.1 Introduction

The governance concept within the international development field has been related to corporate, international, national, and local governance. The international institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have promoted managerial tools and programs for greater democratic values through the implementing of good governance concepts with regard to sustainable development agendas in developing and under-developing countries. These organisations have linked financial assistance to good governance in response to increasing globalisation since the late 1990s. This is not to argue that the development of governance ideas from the West is alien to, or incompatible with, different traditional values, like those of Asian origin. Rather, it is important to signify the development contexts of governance.

Governance is the subject of political and administrative matters globally. It has gained increasing prominence and attention within various scholarly fields, with varying purposes and usages in recent decades. Since the 1980s, the basic definition and language of ‘governance’, formerly used interchangeably with traditional ‘government’ are no longer adequate. Rhodes (2007) argues “governance refers to governing with and through network, to network steering” (p.7). The knowledge advance in Public Administration and Public Policy fields has been informed by these notions of governance. Governance has also been widely used to inform the evolving nature and characteristics of these disciplinary fields and has influenced a transition to Public Governance which represents a move away from a traditional vertical mode toward a horizontal approach (Osborne 2007). The evolutionary approach to governance involves co-production between public and third sectors. Such inter-sectoral modes of governance involve networks, collaboration and inter-organizational relationships between public sector and civil society. The governance

mode has moved from hierarchy and market towards network governance. Additionally, the rapid growth of network governance research in Public Administration and in Public Policy, especially in European countries, has gained important attention in these fields (Lewis, 2011). In local government studies, the pursuit of local governance has become centered around networks, collaboration and community governance (John 2001, Stoker 2004, Roiseland 2011). The range of scholarly perspectives, which originated in western countries, has led to academic and practical changes in governance and its impact, including on reform agendas.

The frontiers of governance have recently been challenged, to be refined and reframed in administrative/management debates in relation to power, culture and democracy, which is due to the impact of ‘new’ western governance approaches and the shifting in governance modes from hierarchy to network in the early 2000s. In the United States, Federickson (2005) finds governance everywhere in the Public Administration field, but in Europe the view of governance is more restricted and “governance means governance network” (Kijin, 2008). The varying views of governance suggest that the fundamental questions of what governance means and what are its principles are in need of critical conceptualisation within particular contexts and with specific reference to the practice of governance at particular levels (local, regional, national, global). Consideration of the governance contexts at various levels is the concern of this study. Local governance and global governance have developed from fragmented conceptual frameworks and different assumptions. While global governance has little need to engage with changing the old-fashioned approaches of traditional hierarchy (Hewson and Sinclair, 1999), local governance is intricately connected to such concerns. Local governance has emerged from the development of local government studies that have shifted the focus from traditional forms of local government to collaboration and network arrangements with third sector or civil society. Local governance is the most accessible level for citizens and it also impacts directly on their lives and livelihoods in fundamental ways. There is little known about how contemporary governance approaches within public affairs could be constructed or adapted to ‘fit’ with local realities at the community level, especially in developing countries. In particular, this study recognises that governance studies are complex and

interdisciplinary by nature, in terms of the changing roles and boundaries and relationship between state and civil society (Rhodes 2007, Kjaer 2011).

This research study is about governance. It is particularly focused on the use of governance approaches at a local level. It considers “good governance” and “network governance” at the local level within the fields of Public Administration and Public Policy, to explore current trends and to explain the changes in practice of local governance in Thailand. The research uses case study investigation, and while particularly situated in communities in Thailand, the outcomes of the research have the potential to be generalised and applied more widely. This case study approach is concerned with patterns and processes of local governance that are based upon the dynamics of governance changes and interaction between parties from the public sector and civil society. It provides new insights into the conditions that have resulted from local government changes. It considers what constitutes governance outputs, and the implications on relationships when adaptation and implementation of a changed governance approach are pursued at a local level. However, while having its roots separately in the main areas of Public Administration and Public Policy study, this research study deliberately integrates different perspectives on governance. Such an approach is intended to present governance as a systematic concept that enables a way to cross or bridge the related disciplines. This cross-disciplinary approach is needed to understand governance changes at a time of conceptual expansion within governance study, these cannot be comprehended through one single theory (Frederickson, 2005).

This introductory chapter concerns a range of research setting matters. It begins to describe the background and identifies the central problems of concern to the study. It then states the formal aim and objectives of the research proposed to address the problems. Next, the main research questions are presented. This is followed by a rationale and discussion of the significance of the study, including a personal statement and a statement on knowledge contribution. Last, it provides an overview of the structure of the chapters and how they support the development of the central concerns of the thesis.

1.2 The Statement of the Problem

In the age of globalization, signified as the aftermath of the post-cold war world decades, many countries, including Thailand, have experienced new challenges in their approaches to governance at all levels of government. The discourse of governance has become a major matter confronting public administration and public policy. New ideas around governance concepts have focused on changing the boundary between state and civil society. Such boundary changes facilitate a changing governance environment and changed interactions. Recently, governance approaches and principles, including key concepts of good governance, network governance, and local governance, have been re-established within the democratic values frameworks in the fields of Public Administration and Public Policy. Some countries, including Thailand, have adopted and implemented governance concepts from the West. Influenced by governance approaches, a number of change processes have occurred and have been generally conceived as ways to address problems in governing public affairs.

In Thailand, the English word ‘governance’ became well known in 1997 after the Royal Thai Government accepted financial assistance after the economic crisis (Tom Yum Kung) from the IMF and Asian Development Bank (ADB). The Government entered into a conditional agreement with the donors to implement a ‘good governance’ approach. This saw introduced newly set up standards that originated from an international meeting which was called the Washington Consensus. The standards that came out of the Washington Consensus promoted “good” governance as a way of tackling the issue of the “poor” governance that was blamed as being the main cause of the financial crisis. The good governance approach involved transparency, accountability, efficiency, fairness and participation. Initially, these ideas were somewhat unfamiliar to Thai society and they needed to be defined and simplified for theoretical and practical application. In order to ensure that the good governance approach was firmly endorsed within the administration system at all levels, the central government incorporated the approach into legislation, called the ‘Practice of Good Governance Act’ in 1999. This strategy following the global

initiatives supported and advanced a strong movement towards governance change. After the acceptance of good governance concepts in Thailand, new norms led to innovative practices within Thai governance, and especially at a local level. These included public – private partnership, consultative committees and working groups, civic forum, and local government networks (Suwanmala, 2004, Krueathep, 2007, 20010).

Modes of Governance in Thailand have also moved in line with the contested territory of paradigm shifts within the Public Administration discipline. In theory and in practice, a contested paradigm of New Public Management (NPM) emerged at the beginning of the twenty first century and impacted on the traditional bureaucratic system. The combined influence of NPM with the globally dominant Democratic Governance Paradigm led to dramatic Public Administration Reform (Bidhya, 2001). A key impetus for the reform was the global pressure on the Thai bureaucratic system to reform with regard to international development standards. The administrative reform was perceived as a shift in the mode of governance from hierarchy to market and its key principles focused on improving the efficiency and effectiveness of public service within the existing vertical approach. Managerial tools and techniques from the business sector were adapted to public affairs, such as sub-contractor techniques and balance sheet score cards. The role of public authorities was to perform as public service providers, while the citizens were perceived as clients or customers. However, as mentioned earlier, Public Administration was now in a transition period, and with ongoing debate about the evolution from traditional Public Administration and New Public Management (NPM). A change to the relationship between the public sector and the third sector was underway as a network governance mode gradually started to grow in Thailand (Krueathep, 2010, Jomboonruang, 2008). Krueathep (2007) claims that a network structure between local government and non-government organizations emerged with the innovation within local public administration, and this represented a shift away from the vertical to a horizontal approach. It is essential, therefore, to address questions arising about the interactions between actors involved in local governing innovations within the network governance mode.

Thai society has faced dramatic changes: in employing good governance concepts, the implementing of the network governance mode, and establishing collaboration between public sector and civil society at local level. The collaborative initiatives have highlighted the complexity of the boundary to be spanned between the two sectors. This circumstance has led Thailand into an age of governance where, as Agranoff (2012) explains “governments form partnership with external organizations and they work together to deal with difficult public problems” (p. ix).

There are a number of ‘push and pull’ influences on the emergence of local administrative innovation within this context. The factors include global pressures, economic conditions, endorsement, political power balances and stability, administration reform, legitimacy issues, social change, information technology advancement, and the complexity of public problems. At the local level, the dynamic of governance change needs to be considered in terms of the influence of, and interference from, the national level as well as the process of decentralization of administration. Local public administration unavoidably has to align with and pay attention to national policy and agendas. However, the concepts around evolution in local governance are still developing and to date have proved insufficient in contemporary Thai society. Yaowaprapart and Wangmahaporn (2012) point out that Thai public administration and public policy at the local level have been given a mandate to govern local affairs by operating local governments themselves, sub-contracting to private sector or collaborating between local governments and civil society for public interests. The dynamic and still uncertain governance environments in Thailand call for new research using a conceptual governance framework that develops theoretical and practical interpretations of the evolution of local governance in Thailand.

1.3 Research Aim and Objectives

To address the problem mentioned above, the aim of this research is to understand the evolution of governance modes at local level against the background of global trends, global influences and the changing nature of interactions between public authorities and civil society actors in Thailand.

In line with this aim, the research objectives are follows:

- 1) To examine the global theoretical background and local practice on governance concepts from Thai experience
- 2) To develop data-driven conceptual and practical insights for improving local governance appropriate to the Thai context.

1.4 Research Question

This research study was designed to address the research aim and objectives by considering the following research question:

“What the impact of changing governance concepts and approaches on the interaction between public authorities and civil society actors at the local community in Thailand?”

More specifically, sub-research questions were formulated to help address the central research question. The purpose of these sub-questions is to guide the direction of the data generation. They are:

- a) How does the context of existing Thai governance approaches influence local governance practice?
- b) What changes in governance structures have resulted from the interaction between public authorities and civil society?
- c) Who are included in changing governance structures and why were they included?

- d) What governing processes are associated with the function of the changing governance structures?
- e) How do actors in changing governance structures liaise with each other within and across their sector and in what ways?
- f) What are the influences on the governance mechanism and the relationship between public sector and civil society within changing governance structures and governing process?

1.5 Rationale and Significance of the Study

This research study arises from personal interests and a wish to make a knowledge contribution. My teaching and researching experiences in the Public Administration and Public Policy at Prince of Songkla University in Thailand assisted and facilitated my understandings of the current debates around the state of knowledge in these fields, and concerning both the academic and practical dimensions to the complex phenomenon of governance. The significance of this research is associated with both its theoretical and practical contribution. Although ongoing international debates on governance approaches suggest evolution from a traditional local government model toward networks and collaboration that crosses the boundary between public sector and civil society, the empirical evidence of the evolution and character of the changes is very limited in developing countries. There is also limited knowledge of how governance concepts are understood, especially in relation to local governance in Thai Public Administration. These understandings need to be clarified, to better comprehend the advance of practices that are the daily reality of efforts to achieve more inclusive governance in public affairs.

1.6 Thesis Overview

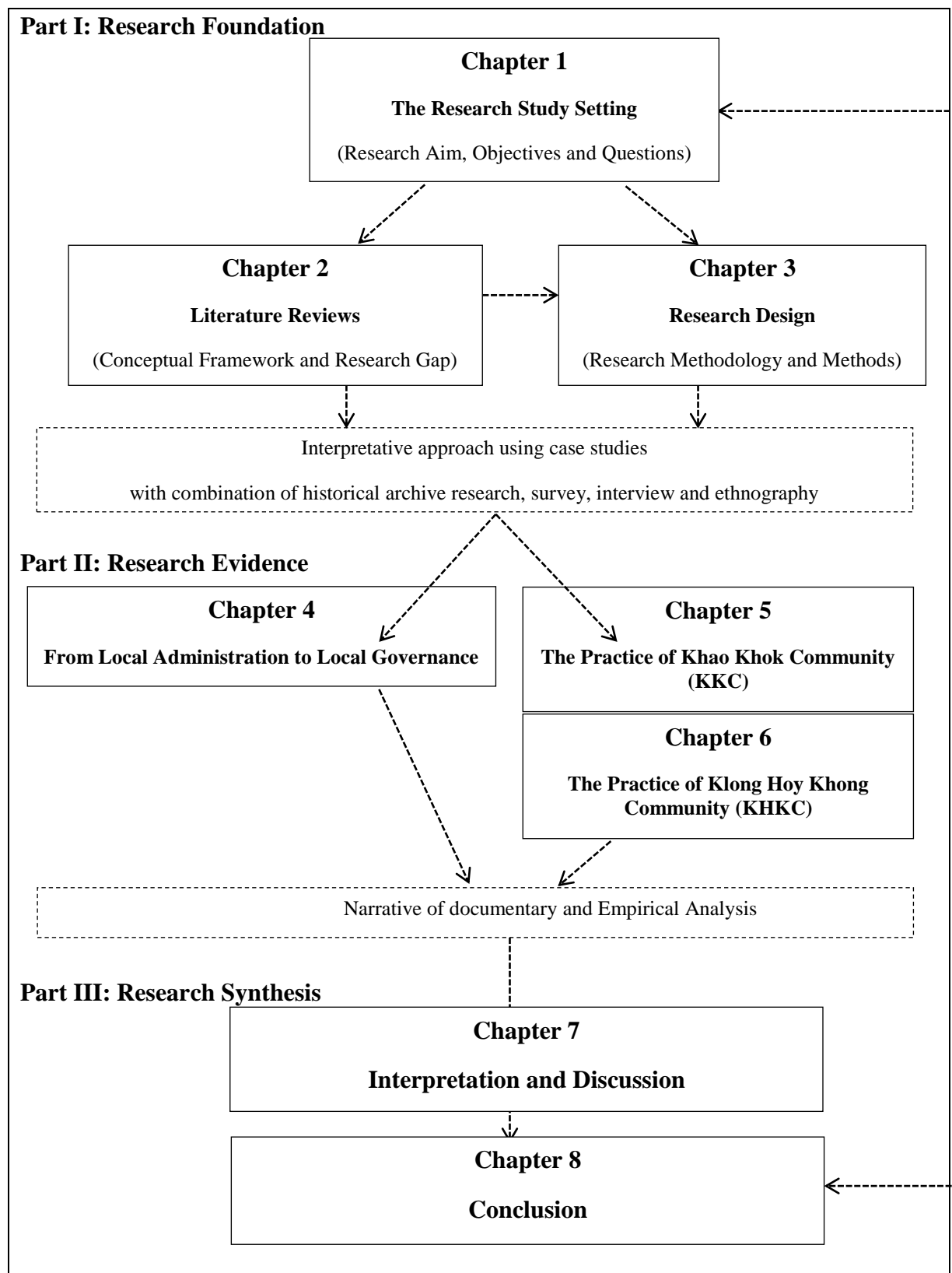
This research is organised into three parts. Part one is the research foundation. It includes this introductory chapter, with research background and research design. Chapter 2 describes how the term of governance and its concepts have come to be defined and how they have evolved in recent decades, especially in the fields of Public Administration and Public Policy. It then discusses the processes of adaptation

and implementation of governance approaches at all levels in Thailand. In doing this, it addresses the progression and development in local administration systems and argues the need to conceptualize contemporary local administration and local public policy within the sphere of governance. Lastly, it proposes an integrated research framework within a broad context of current theories and practices in Public Administration and Public Policy, and introduces selected environmental policies that will be analysed with respect to the public policy choice they involve. Chapter 3, extending on themes introduced in chapter 2, develops and justifies the research study design, including research strategy and methodological approaches. It discusses the ontological and epistemological foundations associated with the selected approaches. It validates the appropriateness and the limits of a qualitative strategy of using an ethnographic case study approach in the research study. It then illustrates the frameworks of the research methods for data generation and data analysis, including consideration of data quality.

Part two is the research evidence. It involves the collation of the research data and the analysis of the results. Chapter 4 explores and examines the development and current trends in Thai local administration within the context of changing governance approaches adopted from western origins. It highlights the opportunities for and growth of local administrative innovation. It traces the history of governance in Thailand and discloses the emerging local administrative networks and the challenge of collaboration between public sector and civil society toward a horizontal approach in Thai local communities. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 provide the empirical data and analysis of two case studies: in Khao Khok Community, Buriram province and Klong Hoy Khong community, Songkhla province respectively. These two chapters demonstrate the experience of active local administration, including the formation of network structures and collaborative interactions of network participants that involve public authorities and civil society actors, and with particular focus on environmental policy developments.

Part three is the research synthesis. This part concerns the interpretation of the research data and the significance and implications for policy and practices. Chapter 7 contains further analysis and interpretation of the research, with direct reference to the main research question and sub research questions. It presents the themes that emerge from the synthesis within the context of the literature – both the theoretical and the practice literature. Finally, it offers tentative conceptual and practical considerations for improving the evolution in Thai local administration in the era of heightened attention to the policy and practice of good governance. The conclusions, implications and contributions of the study, including a future research agenda beyond the scope of the thesis are drawn out in Chapter 8.

Figure 1.1: Structure of the thesis



Source: Author's own work

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter situates the thesis within literature related to contextual and conceptual thinking about governance. The research has its origins in changes to public administration in Thailand and in particular the move in recent years towards new forms of network governance at the local level. This chapter is particularly concerned with notions of governance within public administration theory and practice. In particular, it considers the literature relevant to the evolving concepts of governance that are now part of Public Administration alongside other academic discourses. In doing this, the chapter describes an extensive and interdisciplinary academic literature encompassing administration and administrative reform in Thailand, social and political modernization, governance – including notions of “good” governance – policy networks, and network governance and civil society. It then considers specific studies of governance that have been undertaken in a Thai context and situates them within the broader literature. Lastly, the chapter explicitly describes the gap that this research seeks to address within the network governance frame.

2.2 Governance

2.2.1 A Broad Definition of Governance

Before considering governance in the various contexts that impact on this research, it is necessary to consider what is meant by the term ‘governance’ because although the word is widely used it is also widely interpreted and contested in ways that can blur its meaning and usefulness (Heinrich & Lynn, 2000; Rhodes, 1996; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden, 2004; Frederickson, 2005; Torfing 2006; Beach 2008; Soiseland, 2011). Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden (2004) claim that there is “quite some theoretical and conceptual confusion” (p.114). In addition, Jose (2007) calls for reframing of the governance narrative.

In its first usages, the term was used interchangeably with ‘government’ meaning “to rule or control with authority; to be in government” (Kjær, 2004, p.3). However, from the 1980s onwards the definition of governance has changed significantly to refer to a new form of relations between government, business and civil actors in the policy making and implementation process (Klijn and Skelcher, 2007; Rhodes 1996, 2007). Torfing (2006) states that the meaning is subjective. According to Kjær (2004), scholars have defined the characteristics of governance in several ways depending on the particular area of attention such as public administration, public policy, international relations, and comparative politics. More specifically, in public administration the term has received greater the attention since the beginning of twentieth century (Klijn, 2008; Jackson and Stainsby, 2000).

2.2.1.1 Governance Means Governance Structure

Governance has been defined as a new configuration in relation to networks in the replacement of the traditional government model. Provan, Fish and Sydow (2007) claim that “no single grand theory of network exists” (p.482) in the literature associated with inter-organizational networks. Peters and Pierre (2000) focused on institutional arrangements and treated governance as an umbrella term that covered the whole range of institutions. Many scholars have termed such networks in a number of ways, including third party governance, (Salamon 2002; Frederickson and Frederickson, 2006; Frederickson, 2007), public sector networks (Agranoff, 2005), public management networks (Milward and Provan, 2006; Frederickson and Frederickson, 2006; Agranoff, 2007), and governance networks (Sorensen and Torfing 2005, 2008; Bogason and Musson, 2006; Klijn and Skelcher, 2007; Klijn, 2008; Koliba et al, 2010). Klijn (2008) points out that the term “governance network” is used “to describe public policy making and implementation through a web of relationships between government, business and civil society actors” (p.511).

Additionally, critiques governance as a network structure have enlarge understandings, such as in the work of Koliba et al, (2010). They conclude in their review of the literature:

- Networks facilitate the coordination of actions and/or exchange of resources between actors within the network;
- Network membership can be drawn from combinations of public, private and non-profit sector actors;
- Networks may carry out one or more policy functions;
- Networks exist across virtually all policy domains;
- Although the networks are mostly defined at the international level, they are also described in the context of the individuals, groups and organisations that comprise them;
- Networks form as the result of the selection of particular policy tools;
- Network structures allow for government agencies to serve in a role other than lead organisations. (p.260).

2.2.1.2 Governance and governing process

Some scholars on governance have equated governance with a process of governing, and it has been employed in modern times to focus attention on the changing nature of policy process (Richards and Smith, 2002). Osborne and Gaebler state: “Governance is the *process* by which we collectively solve our problems and meet our society’s needs” (1992, p.24). This definition directs the focus of study of governance towards “the process” rather than “the instrument” that society uses to tackle problems. The key ideas of governance have shifted around “new’ process of governing (Rhodes, 1997, 2000), modern governance, (Koomai, 1993), and a general guiding process (Rhodes et al, 2000) for handling complex decisions and implementation processes (Klijn, 2008). Klijn (2008) argues “governance is the process that takes place within the governance network” (p.511). It can be seen that the term implies a strong relationship between governing process and policy process. In addition, Rosenau (1992), who mainly focusses on global governance, suggest that governance occurs with both informal processes and non-governmental actors.

2.2.1.3 Governance Means State-Society Relationships

The changing relationship between state and society has produced the modern usage of the term governance. Kooiman (1993) refers to it as “the emerging pattern arising from governing” on the basis particular modes of social coordination. The social process plays an important role as “the conceptual change from government to governance” (Roiseland, 2011). The term has also been defined in relation to a concern with the engagement of society within the governing process (Rhodes, 2000). For others, the role of state has to change to facilitate the co-ordination of the social system proposed (Pierre, 2000; Pierre and Peter, 2000).

Kickert et al. (1997) emphasise the process aspect and define governance as directed at influencing social processes, which covers all kinds of guidance mechanisms that are connected with public policy processes. Lynn et al. (2001) from yet another perspective, tend to limit their focus on governance, the realm of official authority, and define governance as regimes of laws, rules, judicial decisions and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe and enable the provision of the publicly supported goods and services. From a public service perspective, Borzel (2010) sees governance as the involvement of both governmental and non-governmental actors. Klijn (2008) points out that governance closely focusses on the relationship between the actors, and in that way, governance could be understood as a reconciliation mechanism for state and society.

The definition of governance concerns governance structure, governing process and relationships, as summarized in Table 2.1. It is notable that some authors have used the term governance as a combination of characteristics.

Table 2.1: A summary of broad definitions and characteristics of governance.

Broad definitions Of governance	Authors
Governance means governance structure	Provan, Fish and Sydow (2007); Salamon (2002), Frederickson and Frederickson (2006); Frederickson (2007); public sector networks Agranoff (2005); Public management networks Milward and Provan, (2006); Frederickson and Frederickson (2006); Agranoff, (2007); Frederickson and Frederickson (2006); Sorensen and Torfing (2005, 2008); Bogason and Musson, (2006); Klijn and Skelcher (2007); Klijn (2008); Koliba, Meek and Zia (2010); Klijn (2008).
Governance means governing process	Richards and Smith (2002; 1997, 2000), modern governance, (Koomai 1993); steering concept (Rhodes Peter and Pierre 2000); the process of handling complex decisions and implementation process (Klijn 2008); Rosenau (1992); Osborne and Gaebler (1992).
Governance means state-society relationship	Kooiman (1993); Kickert et al. (1997); (Roiseland 2011); (Rhodes 2000); Pierre (2000); Pierre and Peter (2000); Borzel (2010); Klijn (2008); Lynn et al. (2001).

Source: Author's own work

2.2.2 Exploring Relevant Key Terms of Governance

Interpretations of governance have expanded significantly in the fields of public administration, public policy and political science. Despite attempts to distinguish it from other, related terms, still governance is presented in a discussion in terms that have little in common (Rhodes, 2007, p.1246). In a widely cited article, Rhodes (1997) offered seven different interpretations of the term. The array ranged across governance as New Public Management, Good Governance, International Interdependence, Socio-Cybernetic Systems, Corporate Governance, New Political Economy, and Governance as Networks. This major categorisation of governance influenced thinking resulted in a conceptual change in governance study, from a hierarchical tradition to themes of 'new governance'. Ansell (2002) addressed the usages of governance provided by Rhodes and suggested that they can be grouped into two major categories. The first emphasises fiscal responsibility, efficiency and accountability of organisations, the second category emphasises the shift from the state-centric model of governing to one where activities, authority, and the power of governing are distributed to wider actors than in the past, and the state can no longer entirely control the outcomes of those activities. In other words, governance in the sense of Ansell's second category refers to a process of coordinating and conciliating multiple actors. Other writers subsequently added to and developed Rhodes's definitions and provided their own interpretations. Kjær, for example, (2004) grouped the usage of the term governance into five categories: Governance in public administration and public policy, Governance in international relations, Governance as EU governance, Governance in comparative politics, and Governance as the 'good governance' of the World Bank.

To get a better sense of the scope of governance, the relevant key terms referred to by Rhodes can be taken up by considering governance in different modes of governance. Recently, the literature on governance and its types has concerned changing modes of governance, from hierarchical governance to market governance and network governance (Powell, 1990, Thomson, Frances, Levacic & Mitchell, 1991; Lowndes & Skelcher, 1998; Beach, 2008; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden, 2004; Considine &

Lewis, 2003; Rhodes, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2007). The concept of “network governance” has gradually infused organisational theory related to public policy and public administration. Rhodes (2007) argues that the main characteristic of governance is network. He presents a concept of network governance that developed out of reforms in the 1980s and 1990s in the U.K. context. Rhodes argues that network governance during this time when the British state ‘hollowed out’ government operations has reconnected people and government among the state sector, business sector and civil society (Rhodes, 2007). This shift toward network governance provides a platform for study governance to explain changes.

Within the two decades, the synthesis of public policy with network theory has led to wide use of the term ‘policy network’ to explain the multi-stakeholders participating in policy making and implementation (Kickert & Koppenjan, 1997; Rethemeyer, 2002; Adshead, 2006; Hazlehurst, 2001). It should be noted that many social scientists also use terms such as policy community, governmental subsystem, sub-governments, policy subsystem and policy domain in ways that are synonymous with policy network (Freeman, 1965; Sabatier, 1993; Burstein, 1991; Mash & Rhodes, 1992). Rhodes (2006) defines a policy network as a “set of formal and informal institutional linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared interests in public policy making and implementation” (p.426). However, there is considerable debate among policy scholars about the role of networks the policy-making process (Dowding, 2001; Marsh & Smith, 2000, 2001).

2.2.3 Scope of the Research Study in the Light of Governance

In this research study, governance is defined within the context of Public Administration and Public Policy fields with regard to Kjaer’s governance classification (2004). The term refers to the combination of meanings across governance structure, governing process and relationship between state and society. More specifically, the thesis focusses on the emerging network structure during the shift of governance modes from hierarchical and market to network governance; and

such network structures create the space for the network actors from public agencies, business and civil society to participate in the governing process, which, in turn, stimulates new patterns of relationships between state and society.

This thesis is primarily concerned with ‘network governance’ and uses the term as a generic name to describe what Rhodes (2007) refers to as a starting point of the research, as cited above, as “a set of formal and informal institutional linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared interests in public policy making and implementation” (p.426).

2.3 Overview of Network Governance

2.3.1 Defining Network Governance

Network governance can be seen positively as a mechanism that broadens political participation and thus enhances or strengthens democracy. It is also obvious that when we talk about the relationship between citizens and the state, networks are highlighted as an innovation that supports civic involvement or public engagement in policy change. The power of the state and its exercise are no longer absolute in the modern world, and the complexity of problems cannot be tackled by the government acting alone (Glodsmith & Eggers, 2004). As a result, governments encourage other parts of society to participate in order to consider solutions in given areas of policy. According to Gray (1990), to achieve this, local governments take action that involves interconnection. As a result, it can be said that the notion of network has been promoted as an alternative that enables direct participation beyond elections and that aligns with principles of representative democracy.

The network idea is of long standing in the public administration field. Since the late 1970s, it has been applied in the inter-governmental relations literature (Klijn and Koppenjan 2000). Networks are used usefully to explain social structures, and describe patterns of relationship beyond limited individual action. (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1998) However, ‘the network’ has been moved to the center of Public Administration and its use is growing significantly in policy fields. This does not

mean that it is easy to find agreement on a definition of network governance. After two decades, network governance is now still “disparate typologies and conflicting terminologies” (Lewis, 2011, p.1221). The usage, of network governance is sometimes interchangeable with policy network in the literatures. More and more, it’s usage implies less governance.

According to Lewis (2011), the outstanding review of network governance literature is that by Rhodes (2006). In his 2006 paper Rhodes states that the term policy network has been used in public administration in three main ways: “as description of governance at work, as a theory for analyzing government policy making, and as prescription for reforming public management” (p.426). The use of policy networks in describe the process of policy making encompasses three main schools of thought: networks as interest intermediation, networks as inter organizational analysis, and networks as governance.

In the first school, the network refers to government policy making and this is also known as the ‘policy network school’. Rhodes (2006) states that policy network has its roots in American pluralism and main focus is on ‘sub-governance’, which refers to: “sets of formal and informal institutional linkages between government and other actors structured around shared interests in public policy making and implementation”. This school emphasises the inclusion and exclusion of a variety of interests that has been brought into a policy making process. The policy network types include membership, integration, and institutionalisation dimensions. The policy community is mainly focussed on various membership issues and the regular interactions called for where there is a lack of consensus and possible conflict.

The second school is mainly associates with the literature from European countries where the network concept has been applied to inter-organisational analysis. Such an approach emphasises influence and power relations and network characteristics. It concerns the interactions between individuals within the networks. In fact, the central actors in the policy network are, in this approach, prominent in formal, public ways, and are otherwise unremarkable a the individual level within existing networks.

Knoke et al (1996) conclude that the impact of collective decision making on power with civil society become clear from this perspective.

The last school is the 'network as governance'. The analysis of sharing power between network actors including state and business lies at the root of networks in the economic policy making process. A former emphasis in this approach originated in corporatism; now the major focus of concern is with "governance by (and through) networks, on trends in relationships between state and civil society, on government rather than policy making in specify arenas" (Rhodes, 2006, p.430). This trend led to boundary spanning between state and civil society. Pierre and Peter (2005, p.6) argue that to comprehend network governance is to understand "the nature of state-society relationships in the pursuit of collective interests". Frederickson (1997) concludes "governance is probably the best and most generally accepted metaphor for describing the pattern of interaction of a multi-organisational system or network. Additionally, Peter (1996) sees challenges to the tradition of hierarchical government models in four governance modes: market, participative, flexible, and deregulated governance. This thesis is situated within this school of thought.

Several noteworthy efforts have adopted a wide range of theoretical approaches to network governance. The key relevant factors that give a focus to network governance include:

- inter-organisational collaboration (Teece, 1992; Lundin, 2007);
- resource exchange (Scharf, 1978; Ebers, 1997);
- shared goal or interest (O'Toole, 2003; Oliver, 1991);
- perception toward benefit of networking (Oliver, 1991; Raab, 2002);
- trust (Smith et al, Muthusamy and White, 2005; Bardah, 1998);
- coercive Influence (Oliver, 1990);
- institutional precondition (Reeb, 2002);
- former structural roots (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999);
- culture (Eber, 1997);
- the period of organizational establishment (Guo and Acar, 2005);

- social and personal ties (Larson, 1992, Eber, 1997);
- conveners (Provan and Milward, 1995).

2.3.2 Brief Development and Nature of Network Governance

A distinction is evident between the generations of network governance researchers. Rorensen and Torfing (2007) explain the development. The first generation mainly focused on the presence or establishment of governance networks. It dedicated major studies and extensive amounts of time to explaining the factors or influences that enable the formation of networks and explain divergences from other modes of governance to network governance. They also studied the effects and quality of governance within a particular governance network. The second generation continued with the focus on the governance network. The key research questions informing the focus of the studies were framed in relation to issues of 1) formation, functioning and development of the governance network; 2) the key factors that explain the failure and success of governance network; 3) the regulation of Meta governance; and 4) The democratic implications of governance networks. However, Lewis (2011) has suggested that a third generation perspective is now needed, to focus on research strategy and approaches to vital sets of questions about “how network governance can be best analysed; what theoretical frameworks will ensure a robust, interesting and productive future for this sub-field; what empirical approaches will provide the most purchase” (p.2011). The current trend is of research into network governance to explore the governance structure and governance processes, and basic networking performance. Such synthesis is promising. It will push the frontier into a pursuit of a broader research foundation with fresh perspectives on cultural matters, taking the field further than both the singular research stand of the first generation and the role-relationship focus of network studies by the second generation. (Knox et al, 2006).

- **The New Asset in Network Governance: Social Capital**

Network governance is associated with a cultural perspective. As civil society, the new actor in governance network, function as a key participant in governing processes, it brings a new element into the network governance frame – so-called

‘social capital’. However, the origin of social capital in the literature is unclear. Coleman, (1988) borrowing from Loury’s (1977) articulation of social capital indicates that: “Social capital is not a single entity but a variety of entities, with two elements in common: they consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure (p.98).” For Coleman, obligations, expectations, trustworthiness of structures, information, norms, and effective sanctions represent important forms of social capital. The social elements that facilitate it include the closure of networks and appropriate social organization.

In Bourdieu’s view, “social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (1977, p.51).” The level at which Bourdieu applied social capital analysis was less clear, oscillating between seeing the form of capital as resources utilized by individually situated and strategic agents and as the properties and product in which practices are deployed (Bourdieu, 1977, 1993). It can be argued that for both Coleman and Bourdieu, community ties are important because of the benefits they generate for individuals.

Another leading scholar to consider is Robert Putnam. Putnam attributes social capital to the community, not to individuals. Putnam (1993, p.167) defines social capital as “features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.” For Putnam, establishing civic engagement, and thereby, social capital is vital to economic development: it engenders trust and reciprocity, facilitates coordination and communication, and provides a successful model for future collaboration. In his study of regional reforms in Italy during the 1970s and 1980s, Putnam identified the key elements of social capital and argued that high levels of such capital in communities provide positive social, economic and democratic outcomes: “social capital embodied in norms and networks of civic engagement seems to be a precondition for economic development as well as effective government” (Putnam, 1993, p.37).

This approach emphasizes the social integrative and participatory function of non-profit organisations as well as their indirect contributions to community building. They are linked to the perspective of a: strong and vibrant civil society characterised by a social infrastructure of dense networks of face-to face relationships that cut across existing social divisions such as race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, and gender that will underpin strong and responsive democratic government (Edward 2010). Norms of reciprocity, citizenship, and trust are embodied in networks of civic engagement and associations, and closely tied to the notion of a functioning democracy.

The implication for this research is that it will be necessary to investigate and closely consider the extent of social capital that exists in each community. In particular, the individuals and relationships that are critical in the communities need to be identified and also the way that factors like trust serve as a proxy for interpreting social capital operate so that civil society can contribute to governance.

2.3.3 Reviewing the Relevant Literature

This section will review the literature that frames the theoretical and empirical background to the research.

2.3.3.1 Common Themes and Topics

A survey of literature on network governance over the past two decades reveals the growth of research in this field. The challenge lies in drawing out essential elements when the concepts foundations are unclear and often it is loosely associated with other terms and concepts. The literature review is examined and summaries in the following table.

Table 2.2 Summary of selected literature on previous work on network governance.

Topics	Focus	Authors
Network formation	Determinants of network formation	Graddy and Chen (2006); Krueauthep (2007).
Network Structure	Structure of governance networks in relation to network governance mode	Agranoff and McGuire (1998); Ansell (2000); Considine and Lewis (2003); Huang and Provan (2006); Kriesi et al. (2006); Rodriguez et al. (2007); Koranteng and Larbi (2008); Kaboyakgosi and Mpule (2008).
Roles and interaction of actors in network structure	Difference in roles and interaction of actors in network structure at the organisation and individual levels	Bache (2000); Mitchell and Shortell (2000); Teisman (2000); Klijn and Koppenjan (2000); Chomsky (2000); Le Gales (2001); Callahan and Schnell (2001); Hendrik (2002); Keast and Brown (2002); Teisman and Klijn (2002); Graber (2003); Van Slyke (2003); Keast et al. (2004); Bingham et al. (2005); Pennen (2005); Edellenbos and Klijn (2006); Yang (2005); Sorensen (2006), Bovaird (2005); Bovaird (2007); Yang and Callahan (2007); Gomes and Gomes (2008).
Network management	The importance of network managements and skill on performance	Meier and O'Toole (2001); Meier and O'Toole (2003); O'Toole and Meier (2004); Agranoff and McGuire (2004); Schout and Jordan (2005); Juenke (2005); Goerdel (2006); Herranz Jr. (2007).
Impact of network	Characteristics of governance and their impact on the quality of governance	Carroll and Carroll (1999); Bogason and Musso (2006); Considine (2002); Walti et al. (2004), Dedeurwaerdere (2005); Larbi (2005); Choi (2007); Pope and Lewis (2008).

Source: Adapted from Lewis, 2011; Koliba, et al, 2010; and Jungruck, 2012.

2.3.3.2 Networks and Governance Studies in Thailand

The following review provide insights into the competing ideas about governance within Thailand over the past two decades. It shows that governance has been considered largely as a locality based issue rather than an analytical framework.

Good Governance as Governance Studies

The term ‘governance’ is used widely used throughout Thailand. Governance study in Thailand initially was associated with good governance principles. Good governance was promoted firstly in 1989 by the World Bank in the report “Sub-Sahara: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth” to address the administration of government mechanisms for improving public services and restoring the economy, especially in poor countries (Bunyarakapun, 2006). Most importantly, the World Bank highlighted anti-corruption as an issue in developing and underdeveloped countries. In its usage related to the World Bank’s communications, the term good governance implied the “modernization of the public administration” (Phongpaichit, 2001).

There was wide use of the term “governance” in the context of national development at the global level; consequently, in the 1990s the concept of governance had become one of the most important universal norms. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) accepted the idea of good governance in the analysis data in the report “Governance for Sustainable Human Development” (UNDP, 2000).

The notion of acquired greater prominence in Thailand after the 1997 financial crisis. Thailand’s financial crisis was linked to the issue of poor governance, said at the time to be endemic to Thailand’s system of government. First and foremost, it was a crisis caused by poor financial governance but this reflected broader structural problems in the Thai economy and brought greater focus on weaknesses in Thailand’s political system. Thailand was forced to attend to “good governance” as a condition of funding from the IMF and ADB following the crisis. Thailand became one of the countries in Asia that needed to formulate and implement market policy following the Washington Consensus (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2000).

Internationally there were parallel calls for improved systems of governance and were aligned in particular with the ‘Washington Consensus’. According to Williamson (2004), the original ten key reforms the Washington Consensus proposed to address the debt crisis in Latin American in the late 1980s. The reforms are: “fiscal discipline; reordering public expenditure priorities; tax Reform; liberalizing interest rates; a competitive exchange rate; trade liberalization; liberalization of inward foreign direct investment; privatization; deregulation and property rights.” (pp.3-4) Later, Rangsun Thanapornpun (2004), a famous Thai economist, argued convincingly that the orientation of the Washington Consensus combined with the concepts of democratization, human rights and good governance. Subsequently, the key reforms needed to be incorporated into policy as a condition of aid funding by the Washington-based institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF (Jayasuriya, 2001; Singh, 2003).

Thailand adopted the Washington Consensus programme on ‘advice’ from the IMF and ADB about “structural and governance conditionality”. Developing country governments were reconfiguring their systems to include economic, political, institutional and public administration reforms (Bidhya, 2001; Rodrik, 2002). the Washington Consensus concepts contributed significantly to the Thai reforms agendas of “governance and good governance” in the era of globalization, though now it appears that Thailand is drifting away from these liberal ideals.

Governance as Democratic Governance

Official acceptance of the Washington Consensus’ good governance approach entailed the adoption of transparency, accountability, efficiency, fairness, and participatory decision making at all levels of government. This approach, when combined with the influential New Public Management ideology (NPM) as well as the Democratic Governance Paradigm (DGP) contributed to further public administrative reform in Thailand (Bidhya, 2001). The main focus of government was the rejuvenation of systems for economic, political, institutional and public administration reforms (Bidhya, 2001; Rodrik, 2002). Ideally, the political space in

the public policy making process would be open to all stakeholders at all levels. Practically, however, policy networks can be affected by unstable political circumstances at the national level. Thailand's national-level political turmoil constituted the backdrop to this study of local governance. Policy network studies should start at the local level where local government is capable of accommodating direct or grassroots democracy.

Notions of “good” governance and democracy sit uncomfortably alongside the style of the Thai government and bureaucracy. Thailand is a society still undergoing democratic transition despite more than 70 years of parliamentary rule. Indeed Thailand highlights many of the dilemmas and challenges created by rapid economic development where the pace of social and economic change outstrips the governing capacity of state institutions. The American political scientist Samuel P. Huntington identified this feature of political change three decades ago. *Political Order in Changing Societies* (1968) and *Third Wave Democratization* (1992) stress that democracy is not the inevitable outcome of economic development. Democratising states can de-democratise in the wake of major economic or political crises. Thailand has moved from the second to the third wave as Huntington suggested. Thai society is changing but the direction of governmental reform is unclear. Hence discussion of administration and governance in the Thai context requires both a firm appreciation of the meaning of “good governance” and the realisation that aspects of this concept applied by researchers and policy makers in the west might not be directly applicable to Thailand.

Governance as Governance Reform

In 1997 the political changes within the government sector over the previous five years, following the Black May 1992 were collectively known as “political reform” (Archavanikul et al., 1999). This reform was regarded as one of the major turning points in Thai politics. The most concrete outcome was the 1997 constitution. It was the starting point to formal steps to expanding the rights of Thai people. It is commonly considered that the rapid expansion of globalization led to new role

creation mechanisms between state and others all around the world but especially in the Asia region. Cheena's (2007) article on inclusive governance and democracy in Asia Pacific Basin showed that the "role of the state and governance system" had changed dramatically. He further asserted that in the case of Thailand, the change from control by political system to regulation that included the encouragement of tri-partnership between government, business and civil society was one of governing excellence.

Many Thai scholars have explored the notions of globalisation. They have questioned the impact of free markets, liberalisation and capitalism on Thai society, especially the economic dimensions (Rangsun, 2001; Jamarik, 2001). Critics of free market ideology and the impact of policy implementation in Thailand are strongly influenced by Pasuk Pongpaichit and her co-writer, Chris Baker. In their books, *Thailand's Boom and Bust* (1998) and *Thailand's Crisis* (2000), they argue that Thai society suffered from economic crisis because of the policy failure by bureaucracy and politic actors including wrong decision making to handle the crisis by cooperating with IMF (Pongpaichit & Baker, 2000). Interest in the globalization process and its impact in Thailand boomed after Thailand's and Asian financial Crisis which is famously translated into Thai as "Tom Yam Kung Crisis" in 1997. Economic crisis can generate a wide variety of negative impact in many aspects of society.

Thailand's 2007 Constitution, in its directive principles on public participation and the local government, states the importance of participatory democracy. Constituent Assembly (2007) states:

Section 287. Local residents have the right to participate in the administration of a local government organisation. For this purpose, a local government organisation shall also make available means for such public participation... (p.16).

After that, the Community Association Council Act also was introduced to create a new formal mechanism for public participation (Royal Thai Government Gazette, 2008). This has led to serious debate between Ministry of Interior and Ministry of

Social Development and Human Security as well as among academics in Thailand. Scholars argue that the community association council will be a new space for citizens to participate in policy making processes, and through, for example, environmental policy networks at the local level. However, others claim that it will reduce the interaction between civil society and local government to mere consultancy and advisory input. Community groups are clearly unsettled by these reforms as they affect the manner in which policy networks are created.

The implication for this research is that the state-civil society relationships are clearly undergoing transformative processes that are influenced strongly by recent events including the 2007 Constitution but also influenced by social processes that go back many generations. The nature of the state-civil society relationships is critical to changing concepts of governance and must be central to the research effort.

Governance as a Policy Network and New Policy Era

The policy network, especially in regard to policy making process in local governance, is influenced directly and indirectly by actors, for example, business associations, civil society groups, non-governmental organisations that promote sustainable development, international organisations like United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Bank, professional and technical organisations, private sector local businesses that exert a degree of power and authority over public policy (Charoensinolarn 2006). These influences affect each stage of the process from agenda setting, to the identification of alternatives, weighing up the options, choosing the most favorable and implementing it. In theory and practice, policy making is more effective when many different viewpoints are canvassed prior to a decision being made. Jongruek's (2012) significant contribution to network governance and public policy examines the presence or absence of network governance through resource dependency theory, using mix methods to study illicit drug policy in Thailand as a case study. The research concludes with disappointment at the absence of a network governance approach. It also raises awareness of case-specific contexts in effective study of network governance.

Governance as Local Governance

Parallel to the developments outlined above, the government took a participatory turn in the early 1990s after the return to democracy. The Tambon Council and Tambon Administration Organization Act of 1994 aimed to decentralize administrative power to local people and to revitalize the people's participation in community development affairs, and to decentralize decision-making power to people at the Tambon and village levels (Royal Thai Government Gazette, 1999). The Tambon Administration Organisation was endured for just a decade. There were high expectations and further potential to foster local self-government through the collaboration of interest groups. This reform was designed to improve access to public services and most importantly, to promote democracy at the local level by reducing central control of representatives of the national government, the Tambon head (Kamnun) and Village leader (Phuyaiban). Indeed, as Tambon was divided into two administrative subsystems; local authority (thongtee) and local administration (thongtin), the overlapping function is still the core issue of decentralisation and local governance. Nevertheless, the policy network was identified as the new initiative for improving local governance.

Tej in his seminal book, *The Provincial Administration of Siam 1892 – 1915: The Ministry of Interior under Prince Damrong Rajanubhab* (1976) provided the first English-language study by a Thai scholar of administrative reform in Thailand during a major transition to Thailand's political history. Based upon his doctoral thesis completed a decade earlier, Tej's work laid the intellectual foundations for the study of Thai administration and government. This book is valued as one of the pioneer works on modern Thai and Southeast Asian administrative History (p.2). Thailand is presented as an indigenously governed society under pressure to reform its system of administration. The study demonstrates the history of early bureaucratic development and centralisation of the entire system of provincial administration by focusing upon the era of absolute monarchy during Chakri Dynasty under the period of European Imperialism.

The study by Tej also highlights the process of modern administrative procedures, which reveal the state centralisation and modern Thai bureaucratic public administration system. It presents the Siam at that time as needing to reorganise the provincial administration for the sake of national security. This is supported by Chai-Anan (2007). Foreign ‘pressure’ which was prime stimulus for administrative reform at that time, and it led to a highly centralized system of administration: For instance, *Khaluang* as the agents of central government, *Thesaphiban* system of provincial administration, Prince Damrong and the establishment of Ministry of Interior and *Monthon* in the study of provincial administration in Thailand. These will be explained background chapter that follows..

A contemporary of Tej, Fred Warren Riggs (1966) advanced a model of Thai bureaucratic culture that is still quoted by scholars. His book, *Thailand: The Modernization of a Bureaucratic Polity* explains how personal relations and hierarchical relations and “vertical loyalties” are central to understanding how Thai polity operated. Thailand is a country that is governed more by bureaucracy than by a parliament based on political party representation. Riggs also points out the significance of power and patronage in a Thai state where bureaucracy is the significant political mechanism and bureaucratic appointments are traditionally based on patronage. Client relationships rather than competency determine the appointment of officials. Riggs argues that to study a centralized and inefficient bureaucracy, the hierarchical nature and culture perspective of Thai society are crucial elements to consider.

From an anthropological perspective, Charles Keyes, whose work relates to Thai culture and society and neighbouring countries in mainland Southeast Asia, argues that patronage (client relationships) is central to understanding how Thai society is constructed. His study also sheds light on culture and cultural change in Thailand. He particularly emphasises how cultural traditions are much stronger in the rural parts of Thailand. For this reason, bureaucracy reform in Thailand often takes place at the centre - in Bangkok only. In terms of how the Thai state interacts with people in the rural areas, they are more traditional and value more traditional patterns of behaviour

between the governor and governed. As a result, we need to pay attention to Thai village culture not just only Thai culture in general. Tradition can be far stronger and much more persistent in rural areas and it is certain that the cultural conditions and expectations with regard to the roles of the state, state officials, and the villagers will be different.

Chathip Natsupa, is a famous Thai academic who devoted his life to the study of village culture. He studied different cultural groups within the Thai state and examined the traditional approaches of the Thai government with respect to traditional culture and the values and way of life of villagers. The work of Chathip has significance because it help us to understand what happens when rural communities with traditional values come up against the formation of the central state. Chathip also focuses on the consequence of state centralisation and how it serves to generalise social groups and race. The “Merit man” uprising, for example, in the northeast of Thailand does, as Preecha Uritagun writes, explain the consequence of state centralization during the early administrative reform in the reign of King Rama 5.

Many of Rigg’s observations and those of Keyes and Bunnag remain relevant today, as rapid industrialization in the 1980s and 90s brought about major transformations in Thai society and to the dynamics of power within government and the bureaucracy. The most significant change in power dynamics came with the rising influence of business groups and prominent business people. This transformation was studied in depth by Anak Laothamatas (1996).

Changes in national level politics were echoed at the provincial and local levels. Economic development increased the influence of business people and groups in rural society which fed into the power structures of local government. The political influence of local jao phor “godfathers” is the subject of extensive inquiry by Pasuk and co-researchers. Their research included investigating corruption and the power of local elite over the bureaucratic system. A culture of corruption was entrenched in the bureaucracy from the national level down to the local level. Drawing upon survey evidence, Pasuk (1995) argued that Thais tolerated a certain level of what is

commonly understood as corruption. I argue here that it is possible that a top-down development approach in Thailand engages the corruption mechanisms and accentuates the problems of improving quality of life and of in serving the real needs and concerns of local communities. The implication for this research is that the empirical work should be undertaken on the ground in rural communities and be designed to understand the local context as much as possible.

It is worth noting important milestones in the take up of governance ideas in Thailand: the enactment of Tambon Act; development of the 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan (1997 - 2001); and the promulgation of the new Constitution in 1997 which was designed to promote and build a more open and democratic society. Based on a nation-wide process of consultation that involved a series of participatory meetings to gather inputs from all sectors of society, the 8th Plan defined development as a people-centred process. This included a new development paradigm in Thai society to replace the top-down approach that was previously and widely practiced by public agencies. In particular, the Plan emphasized: enabling and empowering local people to develop their own communities through decentralization of government functions and resources; enlarged public participation; increased transparency, and an improved system of governance. Ultimately, these positive influences determined the formation of network structure at the local community accordingly (Krueathep et al., 2010).

2.4 Conclusion: Emerging Issues in Governance and Network Governance Research – the Research Gap

The review and evaluation of literature on governance and network governance in Thailand has demonstrates that governance study in Thailand has a broad relevance across the disciplines. The use of the term generic and with inadequate understanding of the scope of study its usage implies.

Firstly, in general, the literature review disclosed the limited number of researches and governance studies in Thai Public Administration and public Policy. In addition, this limited governance literature used the concept broadly. A situation of recurrent confusion about the governance notion echoes the situation in the U.S. nearly ten years ago, when Frederickson (2005) reflected in his famous paper entitled “What happened to Public Administration? Governance, Governance Everywhere”. Kljin (2008) observes this misunderstanding about governance has led the researcher to adopt hierarchical approaches rather than networks when conducting governance study. This criticism is serious. After evaluating the literature on the definition and focus on governance in Thailand, little is known about a shift in governance mode which occurred in the public sector. Governance and network governance is a fairly new frontier in Thailand and it needs to be explored to gain better understanding of governance, changes to network governance, and horizontal approaches in Thailand.

Secondly, globally, there is a gap of empirical evidence especially from developing countries. This gap can be filled through a clarification of governance and network governance research.

Thirdly, the growth of network governance regard to public policy filed globally or specifically in Thailand are limited in particular policy, such as economic policy and healthcare policy. This research gap is consistent with the Koliba, Meek and Zia (2010) observation following a review of the literature, that within the context of network governance, networks exist across all policy arenas. It is essential, then, to conduct the research in other policy domains.

Lastly, the contribution of previous research on network governance in relation to networks and local governance is significant in Thailand. The study of network formation from Krueatheap et al (2010) opened up the network governance field in Thai public administration. He expanded the area of governance study toward network policy formation at the local level. His work relied on the conceptual framework to examine the determination of network formation, and how this involved local government, business and community groups. His research serves as significant

confirmation of the presence of network governance at the local level in Thailand. This research delves into the research gap to explore governance network structures, and in the same manner as the first generation of network governance researchers, but will go further than they did by using the given network governance entities to examine the structure, formation, functioning and the source of its failure or success.

This thesis takes the opportunity to push the frontier of governance further, to define governance in systematic ways and in terms of network structure, governing process and relationships between public and civil society. This research will help fill the four emerging research gaps from the literature review. Firstly, to remedy conceptual confusions, this thesis set out the scope of study in relation to identified key areas: of networks, governing process and changing relationship between public and civil society, in order to understand network governance. Secondly, the research will provide the empirical evidence from developing countries to advance the stock of knowledge on network governance. Thirdly, the policy domain for study is environmental policy. In the last two decades, environmental policy has come to be seen as the “wicked problem” associated with threats to livelihood and demonstrably in need of public solutions. Additionally, as the involvement of civil society in network governance is crucial, the community groups concerned with environmental issues are the most active social institutions in Thailand. Finally, the research setting will rest on the previous major literature concerning network governance at the local level in Thailand. This determines the course of research within the broader field of governance.

Chapter 3

Research Design

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the selection and justification of the research design. The chapter consists of three sections. The first section establishes the research philosophy that underpins the researcher's approach and informs the selection of the research methodology. It broadly links the qualitative case study approach, which is the primary way that data is generated in this research to ontological and epistemological foundations. The second section describes in detail the research methods and the research processes including research preparation, data collection/generation and data analysis. Finally, the last section discusses the research quality with consideration of data ethical concerns.

3.2 Research Philosophy

This section outlines the intellectual roadmap of the research design, from philosophical foundations and assumptions to the methodological position of the research including my positioning as the researcher.

3.2.1 Ontological and Epistemological Foundations

From theoretical and practical perspectives, and as raised in Chapter 2, governance studies in Public Administration and Public Policy has increased in diversity and complexity, particularly in the way that research is conducted. This is especially the case with regard to the divergence of basic assumptions and strategies that have guided recent research. The debate on methodology in the governance field has brought this divergence into focus (Lewis, 2011). The theoretical contestations associated with methodological position of 'less government' and 'more governance' has been noted (Provan and Kennis, 2007, Roiseland, 2011). Bevir and Rhodes (2003) advocate for interpretive approaches and favour ethnography in conducting

governance studies. They encourage governance scholars to consider interpretivism as a potential alternative to the conceptual problems of positivism. In doing so, they propose a decentred approach, of decentring institutions so a space can be made for more individual actors. They further explain “To decentre is to highlight the diversity of an aggregate concept by unpacking the actual and contingent beliefs and actions of those individuals who fall under it” (2004, p.131). Sorensen and Torfing (2007) described the governance research field as a combination of contributions involving political studies, organizational studies and sociological studies, and they suggest that governance scholars in Public Administration and Public Policy should consider available research approaches from other disciplines.

Considering and conducting research “across conceptual and methodological boundaries” is a more comprehensive approach to fashioning network governance research in particular (Lewis 2011, p.1232). This aligns with Finlayson et al, (2004) who also call for a shift in approaches to research in political science toward interpretivism. Such emphasis requires that the current research project take into the account the nature my personal philosophical assumptions. In addition, with a theoretical framework informed by diverse scholarship as described in Chapter 2, this thesis is classifiable as interdisciplinary research. It is, therefore, appropriate to borrow and employ relevant and complementary methods from different fields to address the research questions. Although the theoretical framework is mainly located in the Public Administration and Public Policy literature, it is concerned emphatically with boundary spanning between the public sphere and civil sphere. In that regard, I consider the research philosophy of the thesis as sitting within a much broader social research framework, and not limited by the constraints of Public Administration and Public Policy disciplinary approaches.

Within the broad parameters of a social research framework, the research philosophy, related to ontology (the nature of the world), epistemologies (what we can know about it), and methodology (how can we know it), determine the criteria for the research design. My personal perspectives are informed by a world view that considers that social phenomena are not representative of absolute conditions and static truths that

we can observe explicitly and measure with certainty. Rather, the world is subjectively constructed and changes from context to context, from time to time, and from individual to individual. Therefore, the ontological foundation of this research strongly aligns with relativism or interpretivism, which is consistent with the informed conceptual and empirical approaches previously mentioned.

As a result, I situate this research within constructivism and in particular, social constructivism. In a constructivist world view, social phenomena and social reality are made in a given locality and are the product of multiple interactions between social agencies and the social environment, and are not the product of the operation of immutable social laws. Constructivism has epistemological implications in terms of favouring subjective, experiential knowledge that is generated in complex operations (Guba and Lincoln, 2005, Greenwood and Levin, 2007). Social constructivism reflects the way that we can know reality and explicitly considers the link between the construction of knowledge and various aspects of society including, for example: the political, economic, and cultural. These aspects of society, Thai Society in this case, consist of structure, power relations and influence that are manifested over time. This leads to the embedding of social influence and the impact of power relations in their historical context (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). A social constructivist, epistemological position and the associated implications for social understanding support governance theories that favour social inclusion and democratic participation. Knox et al. (2006) argue for the “third generation” of network governance as the route for contemporary governance study and to pursue a cultural component and discursive groundwork.

3.2.2 Researcher Position within the Research Position

I situate this research within a social constructivist epistemology. In doing so, I adopt a reflexive and interpretive approach to research that leads to a more critical framing of research problems. This directly positions me as a critical social constructivist within the research and that requires ongoing recognition of reflexivity within this social scientific research. This current position has involved a major shift away from my previous educational philosophy, which was directed more towards positivism and

post-positivism in that I considered that my researcher position could be separated from what was being researched. This prior framework was directly and indirectly influenced by my experience of the Thai education system as a scholarship undergraduate and postgraduate student in Public Administration with a major of Public Policy, and my working experiences as a researcher and lecturer in the Public Policy Unit, Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Management Sciences, Prince of Songkla University, Thailand. I acknowledge that these valuable fundamental elements grounded me with knowledge of and a sense of professional participation in such fields. However, being raised in a public authority family and educated and graduating in the Public Administration in the Buddhist, authoritarian Thai state left me with an ingrained and somewhat inflexible world view characterised by prescriptive definition, implicit acceptance of 'truth and reality' by all forms of superiors, obedience to authority, and a passively uncritical mentality.

Given the opportunity as a recipient of a Royal Thai Government scholarship to study and conduct research within a different context from 'home' enabled me to reconsider my understanding of my world view and knowledge production. That process developed and matured in line with this research's progress. Of particular significance was the necessary modification of the empirical approach in the field, which needed to be adjusted to more appropriately involve social 'reality', to gain better insight into, and properly respond to the kindly welcome and invitation from research participants to be a part of their 'reality'. That circumstance led me to recognise and make the most use of opportunity and privilege, and to acknowledge my researcher position as being a part of the data generation and knowledge construction in this research. A changed and more progressive world view, of 'interpretivism', enabled me to better understand questions around 'what is the reality' in the changing nature of governance influences by the West and how that affects public authorities' interactions with civil society, and which, in turn, challenges the governance mechanism and leads toward a deepening of democratic values.

I believe and acknowledge that the ‘facts’ cannot be treated in isolation from values in research practice, and that understanding is unavoidably biased because it is framed under my own terms and associated with a particular event. In this respect, it is appropriate to recognise the researcher role explicitly (Elliott, 1991). Finally, I believe that to provide complex explanations of the social phenomena in relation to governance, the researcher needs to consider that the governance reality is, as Rhodes (2012) writes that a contingent creation of different actions and political movement informed by the beliefs of agents originated in ethnicities. That is, governance implies collective, socio-cultural construction and it varies from one context to another. This position reflects the evolution that has occurred in my approaches to research.

The research findings in this project have evolved out of interpretative and critical engagement with social realities encountered in the field. As a researcher, I approached each result without any preconception of what I was going to find or, indeed, had sought to ‘find out’. Rather, in any interaction with my research subjects, I began to formulate ideas that drew me to explore all the more foundational concepts on which this research was constructed.

3.2.3 From Philosophical Foundation to Research Methodology

The following table illustrates the relationship between ontological and epistemological foundations that informed the research methodology.

Table 3.1: The connection between research philosophy and research methodology

Dimension	Theoretical Explanation	Local Governance in Thai Context
Ontology (Nature of Reality – World view)	Relativism: Reality or social phenomena are relatively embedded in sociocultural contexts. Multiple, locally-constructed realities situated	Within local governance research settings, the world view of governance reality in relation to networks were distinguished

	in historical, social, political, cultural and economic setting. They are particular and cannot be exclusively assembled.	between Thai society and Western society, between national and local levels, between different localities, between public sphere and civil sphere, all of which need to be acknowledged and negotiated.
Epistemology (Nature of Knowledge - What can we know about it)	<p>Individual knowledge is experiential and personally built in social relations. It is also grounded in the rhythms of history and gets recorded over time.</p> <p>The 'How' possible knowledge occurs is influenced by social structure and culturally mutual frameworks. The knowledge within institutions is constructed within a localised institutional reality.</p>	<p>The knowledge of local governance involved primary and secondary data including documentary and individual knowledge. The manuscripts record and disclose the social reality within time and space.</p> <p>Research participants, who are public authorities and civil society actors, have individual knowledge bases and institutional frameworks which shape their interactions.</p>

Knowledge Validity	Establishing knowledge validity is associated with individual, cultural and institutional schemas.	All research participants, who are disposed to share their experiences and perspectives, have a claim to valid knowledge.
Values	Values mediate the process of knowledge building	The empirical evidence was associated with individual values and institutional values and was treated as such.
Researcher Position	Researcher is acting as one of the principal research tools. Involved in simplifying and interpreting the conceptual and pragmatic perspectives and co-generating the data outcomes.	Reflexivity and adaptation as an ongoing research process, and informed by data-driven research.
Research Methodology (How can we know it)	Interpretive methodologies are favoured – using dialogue methods as the ‘how’ to understand action from within the research context. The case study methodology is appropriate to this approach (Somekh and	Qualitative research strategy, case study approach and historical approach involving two local communities. Emphasis on the meaning of interpretive documents and interactions which

	<p>Lewin, 2005, Elliott and and Lukes, 2008).</p> <p>Participatory and collaborative process of inquiry is suitable (Allen, 2004).</p> <p>Ethnography is a strong methodological position to study network governance (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, Rhodes 2007, Bevir and Richards 2009)</p>	involve tensions between different understandings and perspectives.
--	---	---

Source: Authors's own work

3.3 Research Methodology, Approaches and Techniques

3.3.1 Qualitative Research Strategy

To appropriately design this research, I considered the informed theoretical and practical literatures reviewed in Chapter 2 and combined them with approaches suggested by the research philosophy mentioned above. The conceptual and empirical works offered a wide range of research methodology. Importantly, several scholars have vigorously proposed methodological positions for Public Administration and Public Policy that favour qualitative research and with an interpretative approach (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, Rhodes 2007, Bevir and Richards 2009). According to Rhodes (2007, 2012), a qualitative approach with ethnographic method in particular is the new alternative for studying the pattern of governance and public policy. His suggestion aligns with an earlier recommendation by Agar (1996) that “no understanding of a world is valid without representation of those member voices”

(p.27). The consideration of qualitative-based data is foremost, and compatible with comprehending the reality ‘from the ground’ within a particular context, many scholars are in agreement that qualitative approaches usefully clarify the understanding of “key aspects of cases” and can do so more reasonably and deeply (Neuman, 1997: p.14). Maxwell (2005) suggests the data in a qualitative study includes virtually all evidence that the researcher sees, hears, or the conversations that a participant communicates with researcher. “When one is conducting the study there is no such thing as “inadmissible evidence” in data gathering/generating to understand the issues or situations” (p.79). In that regard, the benefits of combined usage of primary data and secondary data is considerable. Schutt 2006 suggests that the wide range of sources, primary data and secondary data is essential and allows the researcher to frame, analyse and conclude research with an empirical dataset. Ultimately, the suggestion of a qualitative research strategy suits a research philosophy of social constructivism and hermeneutic/interpretive methodology (Guba and Lincoln, 2005).

I employed qualitative case studies with a historical approach, which Yin (1994) describes as appropriate to address research questions formulated to gain understanding of the ‘lived experience’, and through the practical consequences of voice expression and everyday interactions (Yin 1994). The rationale for combining historical and case study approaches in this research was mainly to address substantially the research questions by exploring context at length to assist the interpretation of empirical evidence. My intention was to develop outside and inside views of the content, quality and meaning of governance intentions and interactions. For the historical approach, I agree with the suggestion by Moynihan (2009) that “the question of administrative legitimacy can best be understood using a historical approach”. Moynihan (2009) explains that historical backgrounds are not only the legal framework but also the value set in practice. Without acknowledgement of such components it is not an easy task to understand the dynamics behind prevailing calls for “less government” and “more governance”.

For my case study approach I considered case study methods on the basis of Yin's notions and criteria (1989, 2003). He defined the case study as "an empirical enquiry that investigates between phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1989, p.23). Yin (2003) also lists the criteria for choosing a case study approach as a research strategy. Those criteria include: the research question type is fashioned as 'how?' and 'why?' questions, control-free over the actual behaviour of research participants, and an emphasis on current conditions. All these criteria align with this research: The central research question is a 'how' question, research participant's interactions are based on uncontrolled events, and the given phenomenon is placed in its contemporary timeframe.

3.3.2 Research Approaches and Techniques

The research design is essentially a qualitative research methodology although there is a minor quantitative component related to the distribution and analysis of a questionnaire. The qualitative component was more extensive and combined the historical approach and the case study approach. These approaches systematically uncovered the changing nature and environment of local governance and meaningful interactions, and though in-depth examination of governance phenomena in relation to networks. The data generated in turn contributed to explaining and interpreting the governance practices between public authorities and civil society actors. The connection between the research questions, research philosophy foundations and research methodology has rationally informed the research approaches and it represents a research design with a coherent sequence of approaches that govern the selection of research techniques. As the outline for conducting the research, the approach combining historical and case study approaches is logically designed as two stages. It starts with the historical approach, dealing with essential secondary data within the historical context. The secondary data was generated by tracking and analysing the narratives and claims about how the 'governance' notions were constructed and reconstructed in the Thai context. The historical approach signifies and confirms the importance of the subsequent in-depth empirical work. Later, the

case study approach is employed and this involves the process of research preparation, data collection/generation, data analysis, and data interpretation.

- **Historical Approach**

By exploring the historical background and the trajectories of a democratic governance paradigm, we can gain understanding of the contemporary Thai situation, and with cross-national and cross-cultural relevance. Secondary data such as government reports, public law, research, books, newspapers, academic journals and related research were all useful for addressing the research questions and achieving the research goal. At a final stage, I revisit the historical information as necessary and as informed by the needs from the case study development.

- **Case Study Approach**

Alongside the historical approach, my case study approach was designed to add depth of understanding for addressing the research questions by drawing out actual interactions that took place in the two cases. This was informed by ethnographic techniques and grounded theory. A Case study approach has become a popular qualitative research strategy. There are a wide variety of academic perspectives on the term ‘case study’, such as a “research process”, a “unit of analysis”, a “single instance phenomenon”, or a “social unit”, or a “bounded system”. A case study approach offers the opportunity for a researcher to conduct the research in depth and develop understandings in specific case, and can illuminate the real meaning of circumstances in contemporary Thai society.

The case studies involved two separate cases at two specific sites in Thailand: Khao Kok Community in Buriram province in the northeast, and Khong Hoy Khong in Songkhla province in the south. The five criteria for site selection were geographical location, size of location, outstanding environmental social movements, data accession and funding.

Environmental local governmental policy was chosen as a particular policy domain in order to frame and limit the scope of policy and define relevant key players. Moreover, an environmental policy network focus enabled a firm focus on the introduction of community organisation councils, which was the new mechanism created to open up the political arena for civil society to be involved directly in policy circles especially in policy making. Further, civil society engagement in environmental fields was and is the most active cooperative arena in Thailand.

3.3.3 Research Techniques and Procedures

The research methodology and approaches direct the choice of research techniques for data collection/generation and data analysis. Maxwell (2005) further suggested, “triangulation of observation and interviews can provide a more complete and accurate account than either could alone” (p.94). While observation is essential for explaining “behaviour and event” in reality, the interview is beneficial for acquiring the “the perspectives of actors” (Maxwell 2005).

3.3.3.1 Data Collection/Data Generation

The collection of data is divided into two parts. First, documentary research was conducted for gathering secondary data, documentary evidence. Second, field research was conducted in Songkhla and Buriram Provinces of Thailand. Survey research entailed questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, beside non-participate observation.

1) Survey

A survey was developed with short open-ended questions and with the ticking boxes to clarify structure, rule, function, interaction and level of trust between state agencies and civil society – and with one survey for state officials and another for members of civil society. Such research tools were evaluated and consulted with two experts in the field. The advantage of surveys is the cheap cost and also that they are easy to complete. They create greater confidence for respondents when anonymity is assured. Disadvantages include possible low response rates, and misunderstood questions cannot be identified.

2). Interviews

An in-depth interview method was part of the survey study in the research sites. Semi-Structured interviews were developed with open-ended theme questions. There are many benefits from using semi-structured interviews. Firstly, this allows a researcher ask more questions when interesting and important issues are raised by key informants. Secondly, the order of questions can change in accord with the flow of information. Finally, the interviewer has an opportunity to give more detail to respondents on questions that seem unclear. An obvious weakness of conducting field interviews is the time and funding they involve. To select the appropriate sample for field interview and to avoid the waste of resources, , a ‘snowball sampling’ was used to locate participants in environmental policy networks. In this method, to begin, a researcher will engage with a contact list of a small group of policy makers and ask them to name other people, around ten people, who are actively involved in environmental policy networks. The one that was named is asked for another ten names. Then the researcher will rank the entire name list to settle the final list of participants. Consequently, twenty participants in 2 case studies will be interviewed.

3. Participant Observation

In the observation process a researcher will take action as observer by observing the general environment of formal and informal policy meetings, and interactions between the state agencies and civil society policy makers, and at each selected site.. The researcher was invited to join the local policy process, for example, community fora and forest visiting project. All observation data were recorded by note taking. Even through the non-participant observation have some disadvantages such as time involved and research bias, there are many advantages to using non-participant observation: it allows for rechecking of the data from interview responses.

3.3.3.2 Data Analysis

All transcripts from field work, , notes and observational comments and relevant official documents will be analysed and categorised. Yin (1989) highlights challenges in the analysis of data from a case study, and suggests two-part approach, of “relying

on theoretical proposition” and “developing a case description”. This research adopts both strategies and it will apply textual analysis as a data analysis tool.

Additionally, the research analysis was informed by social network analysis (SNA) principles. In particular, the principles were employed for identifying the structure of interaction between policy makers from state agencies and civil society. According to Knoke and Yang (2008), “structural relations” is the core of analysis in the network aspect. They also suggest three significant assumptions about “patterned relations and their effects” within the social network analysis. First, “structural relations” are a popular tool to know and study human behaviour beyond “age, gender, values and ideology”. The second assumption of network analysis is that attitude, consideration and operation can be influenced by a social network. Finally, “dynamic process” is the best explanation of “structural relations” characteristics. Furthermore, they highlight that social network analysis not only can picture the process of linked relations among and between the different actors but also provide insights into the breadth of structural relations and the effect of the interactions (Knoke and Yang 2008). The network analysis is not end in itself and the analysis I undertake is ‘informed by’ rather than adhering to the quantitative processes of SNA. The theory was primarily used to recognise and acknowledge the significance of links and interactions between key research participants so that the questions in the survey could be constructed to include questions of the nature of “Who do you talk to?”. Those links were then also interpreted qualitatively informed by principles of analysis that recognise and acknowledge the importance of ‘letting the data speak’. Additionally, the data gathered by questionnaire on the level of trust can be gauged against a check list that follows a “Likert scale” (Likert 1932), and in this research will be analysed using the SPSS statistical program. This analysis introduces a limited quantitative dimension to the research and from this perspective the research can be considered to be mixed methods.

3.4 Research Ethical Considerations

Ethic approval from RMIT University was essential before the data collection from human participants – as interviewees and subjects of observation - got underway. After consultation with the University authorities, this research can be classified as “Risk level 2” (in the national standard classification) Participants may be identified in those cases where express permission was given to record an interview. Ethical considerations were paramount in data collection stage, with permissions sought from individuals to collect and record the data, and this request was formalised via an introductory letter, clear advice on the aim of the project, and signatures obtained. Follow up to these formalities entailed agreeing to stop any interview upon request, and at the end, send tape transcripts to participants to check and sign, before any use of the information. Thai language was used in the interviews. Translations of transcripts from Thai to English was scrupulously checked by the official translation centre. Finally, all transcripts will be archived as confidential information.

PART II



Research Evidence

Chapter 4

From Local Administration to Local Governance

4.1 Introduction

State and civil society relationships altered dramatically with the increasing scope and reach of state power in the twentieth century. In response to the challenges of European colonialism and then the Communist insurgency, the state gradually expanded its control over communities and localities within the redefined boundaries of Thailand. Modes of localised government were shaped by centrally-defined priorities and were, therefore, vertically oriented in a way that was designed to serve the interests of the centralised state. At this time the greatest priority for the central state government was order and control. Official acceptance of more horizontal modes of governance linking state and society in localised participatory decision making processes have only recently emerged in a context of modernisation and democratisation. To analyse the local-national and national-local dynamics of governance, this chapter explores the evolution of local administration and government against the backdrop of national-level political change in Thailand across the twentieth century. In so doing, it also examines the nature of local culture, to illuminate some of the tensions between modernizing trends in governance and community traditions.

The chapter is divided into two parts with the text – citation where the Thai authors are listed by the first name. The first part considers the history and is organised into six sections, each addressing a different phase in the evolution of institutional approaches to local administration. The first section presents the establishment and origin of local administration from 1868 to 1932. This period represents the first phase of the process of nation-state building and modernization in the reign of King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V) to King Prajadhipok (King Rama VII). The second

section describes the period of the first coup ever in 1932. This was a significant moment in Thai political history although it is argued by many scholars that this involved only a superficial democratization of the structure of government, with authority and power remaining vested in the hands of the bureaucratic state and the military emerging as an alternative centre of state power. The introduction of a new local administrative entity was a vital step in this period. The third section presents two decades of the rise and decline of an autocratic political pattern under military authoritarianism. Local governments were neglected and suspended as the military tightened its grip on the reins of government. The fifth section outlines local administrative reform and the emergence of local “government” and “governance” reflecting the normative impacts of globalisation. The mobilization of civil society, especially in the environmental movement, was particularly significant in this transition which led to the introduction of a People’s Constitution in 1997. Governance gains at the local level were, however, weak and there was a period of reversal post 1997 that echoed national level political changes. Paradoxically, the rise of populist businessman-politician Thaksin Shinawatra promised a more inclusive system of democratic representation for Thailand’s rural populace. The ensuing struggle between rival elements of Thailand’s urban elite culminated in a return to authoritarian government, political unrest and the polarization of Thai society. The final section brings the review of Thai historical context up to date by considering the situation in the modern globalisation era.

Part Two deals with the local values and cultures that have affected local government in practice. It also indicates the difference of values and cultures in different regions and the different consequences of these factors with regard to local governance modes. The chapter establishes how the character and significance of local government is directly influenced by politics and government at the national level and by the external forces of globalization.

Part One: The Historical Development of Thai Local Affairs

4.2 King Rama V (1868): From Local Order to Local

Administration

Thai villages were traditionally self-organizing and self-governing communities, they were relatively autonomous except when their local lord sought to impose levies or extract rents. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V: 1868-1910), when “Siam” was the official name of Thailand, there was a perceived external threat of colonising invasion from England and France. In response to the perceived threat, King Chulalongkorn decided to ‘modernise’ and ‘reform’ the state and bureaucratic structure in various aspects by introducing new and strong institutions like a police force, royal army and hierarchical bureaucracy at all levels. These institutional developments were motivated by the desire to strengthen central control over outlying principalities and thereby constitute Siam as a sovereign territorial state in the Westphalian sense of statehood. The public administrative reform was considered to be a significant instrument of state apparatus, to protect Siam from colonial invasion (Likhit, 1992)

Administrative reform created a bureaucratic power structure but did not displace traditional authority structures that were formed around the *sakdina* system. *Sakdina* is a system that most closely resembles a feudal system and has been called “Thai feudalism” by Chit Phunisak (Chit, 1996). The *sakdina* system was a patronage system of power and protection by state patrons of their clients. The *sakdina* system involved the national allocation of land to state officials. However, this allocation was merely a marker of social status. The term *sakdina* has been defined by Turton as “power (rank, honour) in or over [irrigated rice] fields” and it “refers in the first place to a legal system of allocation of social rank in numerical-hierarchical order, to the entire population in most traditional Thai states” (Turton 1984, p.25 cited in Orlandini, 2003). Kemp points out that under *sakdina* there is a “hierarchy of centres of authority whose influence in turn extends outwards and downwards with declining effect the further away one progresses” (1991, p.317). Under this system, autonomous

individuals (*Phai*) had an obligation to present themselves to the authorities (*Nai*) according to their administrative departments. At the bottom of system was the *That*, the slaves. After the modernising process that occurred during the reform, the *sakdina* system was still in evidence. The revised bureaucratic system aligned with the *sakdina* system and provincial governors and officials were drawn from or linked to powerful local families that were loyal to the centre. Hirsch (1990) asserts that in line with the previous system of *sakdina*, the villagers (*chaoban*) and the civil servants (*kharatchakan*) were involved in the village discourse such that the “former serfs and slaves constituted a peasantry that was at once increasingly mobile and commercialised, while bureaucratic positions went to the ruling class - that is, the former nobles” (1990, p.19). As Charoenmuag (2005) points out, the labour control under the *sakdina* system did not support the implementation of new local government forms due to the limits on freedom. *Phai* and *That* had no basic human rights, to vote or even to express their political opinion, so that their role in community governance was a static one in the period of absolute state control.

4.2.1 Reordering the Geographies and Structures of Social Control at National and Provincial Levels

The Chakri Reformation was a response to the globalizing pressures of western colonialism, beginning in the 1870s and spanning four decades. Western notions of functional bureaucracy supplanted the *rachathani* tradition of ‘palace administration’. Functional departments were created to administer state finances, defence, foreign affairs, law and justice, agriculture and resources. Even though they were still controlled by members of the royal elite these departments established a foundation for bureaucratic control over state affairs. Experimentation with departmental processes and functional alignments proceeded with the assistance of foreign advisers from Europe and the United States. (Phongpaichit and Baker 2002, p.236). As Kemp writes, King Chulalongkorn and his royal ministers strove to generate “a uniform centralized system of administration over the whole kingdom, now redefined in what to us is a far more familiar form with precise geographical boundaries” (Kemp, 1991, p.317). This reinvention of Thai government was driven by state or royal priorities but

influenced substantially by outside forces. Charoenmuang (2005) suggests that this resulted from the experience of several royal tours to England and to the empire countries, especially Myanmar. Eventually, western styles of government were imported and absorbed into central and regional administration and brought the emergence of local administration systems in which control was to be effected not just through demands for loyalty and service but the implementation of state policies by local officials appointed from Bangkok (Baker 2009, Charoenmuang, 2005).

The most active area of reform and experimentation was the Ministry of Interior, created in 1892. Under its activist minister Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, the Ministry introduced an administrative system for provincial areas, which covered a *monthon* or a country subdivision of Siam. Each *monthon* was led by a superintendent commissioner (*Khaluang thesaphiban*). In the early stages of implementing the system, the *monthon* were introduced into important areas, ones that were the most strategically vulnerable. Generally these were partially independent cities named *Mueang* and commanded by governors. Eventually, the system was officially introduced under the 1897 Local Administration Act and was implemented nationwide by 1910.

According to Tej (1966), the main reasons for slow implementation of the *monthon* were not only the lack of suitable educated officials, but also the resistance of the traditional local leaders. Local leaders were gradually transformed into agents of the central government. This radically altered state-society relations and greatly increased the role of central government in the daily lives of rural peoples outside the Central Region. This 'capacity deficit' was addressed by the installation of the Thai Royal Pages School, which was originally founded in 1902 to produce and professionalise civil servants to perform in public organisations. It was re-established as the Civil Service College of King Chulalongkorn in 1911 and Chulalongkorn University in 1917 (Chayabud, 2005). This concern of commissioner capacity in central government and provincial administration has expanded and developed ever since. Political education and knowledge of officials became recognised as a fundamental capacity issue and a critical determinant of the effectiveness of governing.

Tej (1966) also identified the resistance of local leaders as a significant problem in many areas. In Lanna (The North) and Issan (The Northeast) sporadic popular rebellions occurred against the new administrative and new taxes systems. These areas were influenced by the local nobilities who feared a loss of their power but also represented a reaction among sections of the peasantry against the imposition of illegitimate central authority. The most notable of these was the *Phumibun* (Holy Man) rebellion in 1902 (Uitrageol, 2003). The provincial town Khemmarat, in the Mekong basin was invaded by these north-eastern rebels whose aim was “to establish a kingdom which was not under either the Siamese or the French (Keyes 1977, p.298 cited Baker, 2009). Later, the central Bangkok government sent out troops to suppress the rebels and reassert central authority in a region that is historically and culturally oriented towards the once extensive Lao kingdom of Lan Xang, and where the population remains substantially Lao in ethnicity.

4.2.2 Beyond regional change: Establishment of Local Administration

Reformation of administration at the central and provincial levels has received most scholarly attention but significant reforms were also introduced at the local level. Local administration was more experimental than the national level administration and was hindered by significant structural barriers. The first form of local authority was the *sukhaphiban* (sanitary committee) with the first urban *sukhaphiban* established in Bangkok in 1898 and the first rural district *sukhaphiban*, Tha Chalom was established in 1905. The *sukhaphiban* was an extension of the central bureaucracy rather than a local council in the European tradition and was instituted to manage sanitary provision for the districts in both urban and rural areas. Each *sukhaphiban* comprised appointed, as opposed to, elected local government officials.

Local administration reform did not spread across the entire kingdom. There were 35 *sukhaphiban* that were legalised throughout the country under the Act of Sukhaphiban of 1908. There were four main areas of responsibility comprising of sanitary provisions, health care, road maintenance and tertiary education and each was funded

by the state. The Sukhaphiban were categorised into two types, *sukhaphiban muang* (Town) and *sukhaphiban tambon* (subdistrict). The former category was initiated at a town level and the latter, at a subdistrict level.

In his overview of establishment and development of *sukhaphiban*, Charoenmuag (2005) highlighted three perspectives for examining the evolution of these authorities. Firstly, owing to the inadequate education of local residents, it was initially necessary to appoint civil officials to govern the local government. Later, when the people were better educated, the people would be welcomed to participate in local administration. Secondly, the local people have their own indigenous wisdom and experience to construct and maintain their livelihood. So, it would be acceptable for the state to create political space for citizens in local administrative systems rather than sending officials to control them all. Thirdly, despite the transformation of Siam to an activist state by launching the *sukhaphiban*, the weakness of the civil society sector was evident and it had no voice at all during this period. People at all levels of society followed the commands of the state. The establishment of a local administrative system by the state has caused a series of problems related to civic participation and a confusion of local administrative structures.

4.2.3 Ongoing development: Overlaps and Contradictions in Local Administration Systems

The administrative system at all levels was adapted and extended during the reigns of King Vajiravudh (King Rama VI: 1881-1925) and King Prajadhipok (King Rama VII: 1893–1941). However, developments often resulted in overlapping and contradictory administrative authorities. To begin with, the Local Administration Act of 1914 established the primary public law to rule and oversee at the *tambon* (sub-district) and village level. According to this act, sub-district administration was seen as a means to extend central control down to the micro-level. *Tambon* councils can be traced to the *tambon* committees (*khanakammakaan tambon*) set out in the Local Administration Act of 1914 but which codify certain traditional forms of local governance exercised by village headmen, *phuyaiban*. *Phuyaiban* traditionally ‘administered’ but also to an

extent 'governed' village affairs through deliberative councils of village elders. Though technically a government or state official, *phuyaiban* formally 'represented' their village to the world outside. *Kamnan* was a new category of local leader created by the central state to oversee a cluster of village units, the *tambon*, through a *tambon* council. This council was expected "to facilitate the *kamnan*'s [Community Chairman] role in ensuring law and order within his subdistrict, this law provided for at least monthly meetings of the *kamnan*, village headmen, and *tambon* medic to discuss *tambon* affairs" (Bowie 1996, p.16). Subsequently, there were two amendments to the Local Administration Act of 1914, in 1943 and 1946. The law failed to resolve confusion with regard to who had control due to competing power influences from the authorities appointed by the state and the existing local leaders. The amendments determined *tambon* areas to have a *tambon* committee consisting of *kamnan*, village headman, doctor, public school teacher and one representative from each village in *tambon* to advise and assist the *kamnan*.

When Prince Damrong resigned from the Ministry of Interior in 1915, the whole country except Bangkok was subdivided into 19 *monthon*. Next, King Vajiravudh announced the creation of a Regions (*phak*) system. Each region was administered by a viceroy (*upparat*). The purpose of region administration was to oversee a number of *monthon*. Until 1922 four regions were established. However, they were dissolved in 1925. At the same time several *monthon* were merged in an attempt to streamline administration and cut costs. In 1916, the word *changwat* entered common use in referring to the provinces, which were smaller administrative areas within the *monthons*, and partly to distinguish them from *mueang* or provincial capital cities. This reorganisation stressed the new administrative structure of the province. Subsequently, the overlapping sphere of administrative responsibility all the way from Bangkok government to the provinces and local governments was continued, and served to sustain the idea of an absolutist state as introduced under King Chulalongkorn. Although King Rama VII, King Prajadhipok, maintained the centralised nation-state structure, he had a vision of democratic gradualism. King Prajadhipok paid special attention to local democracy and citizenship, however, his ideas were never implemented.

4.3 In Search of Democracy: The coup d'état of 1932

4.3.1 Political Change and Nationalism

In June 1932 Thailand's first successful *coup d'état*, engineered by the People's Party or Khana Ratsadorn, consisting of mid-ranking government servants and junior military officers from the standing army created during King Chulalongkorn's reforms, converted Thailand from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. They proclaimed the first democratic regime (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2009). Some political scientists, however, hold the view that this change represents a conversion of state power from the king to elite bureaucrats in the name of democracy (Chantornvong 2000, Vichit-Vadakan. 2000). This transformation led to the completion of the process of centralised bureaucracy or what Riggs (1966) calls the "bureaucratic polity". Additionally, the People's party expanded the role of the state beyond the functions of defence and security, for example, to economic and social development and education. With the institution of parliamentary government, political centralization emerged as a parallel process to state centralization. These new roles gave rise to political centralization, this was because the take up of democratic ideas was restricted to public service delivery (Saksun 1995). This stimulated argument around the competition within the state between the newly established parliament and central government on how to formally institutionalise power within the emerging democratic governance system.

The persistence of elite power was also evident in the two constitutional charters of 1932. In the original Khana Ratsadorn constitution approved by King Prajadhipok on 27 July 1932, the king was clearly answerable to a national assembly. However, the later constitution of 10 December 1932 granted the king more extensive powers and "baffled" the new National Assembly (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1995, p.252). The latter document was drafted by a committee and only one member, Pridi, was a Khana Ratsadorn member (Banomyong, 2000, p.159–160 cited in Foran, 2007). Within six months the Khana Ratsadorn had restored much of King Prajadhipok's administrative authority. This weakened the Thai 'revolution' in some degree as it formally restored the institution of the monarchy. Still, constitutionalism was

established in Thai politics and culture. Thereafter constitutions have been important features of the Thai political landscape, even if they have been frequently revised and rewritten.

Rural people were a priority for state-directed development planning. Leader of the People's Party civilian faction, Pridi Phanomyong, released an ambitious economic plan intended to provide income security for Thai farmers by transforming them into state employees working on state-owned agricultural land in return for a regular wage. Under this plan, the state would absorb the economic costs associated with poor harvests and fluctuating prices. This idea was driven by a concern for social welfare but was immediately interpreted as a communist scheme by Pridi's detractors, including those within the People's Party. The ideological origins of Pridi's scheme are to be found, according to Baker and Phongpaichit (2000) in the work of Friedrich List, an economist influential in Germany and Japan, and not in Soviet-style communism. The charge of communism however lent justification to the closure of the National Assembly by the Prime Minister, Phya Mano and exposed serious ideological division between the civilian and military factions of the People's Party (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2000). This era witnessed the growth of the military influence over politics.

In 1933, an Administrative Law established three layers in the Thai administrative structure, the central or national administration, the provincial administration, and local administration. This structure of the centralized administration has endured as a dominant aspect of Thai administrative culture. Under supervision and direction of the Cabinet, all ministries and departments at the central level have played major roles in national policy formulation and policy implementation. On the other hand, implementation and administration at the provincial level are in hands of the regional offices of ministries and departments located in the province. To facilitate and coordinate public programs and projects of various government agencies, the governors, who were permanent civil servants under the Ministry of Interior were appointed. In addition, Local Administration consisted of local officials directly or indirectly elected by the people in the areas. These local bodies were municipalities

including the Bangkok Municipality. With this administrative pattern, Thailand has evolved into a centralized administration with strong national government influence over provincial and local levels.

In practical terms, local administration was not affected by the 1932 coup. Reforms in local administration continued the pattern of increasing central control across the territory of the Thai state. However, one year after the 1932 coup, a new form of local government was created by the Thesaban Act (also known as the Municipal Administration Act) which was considered as the first concrete evidence of ‘decentralisation’ as it proposed the formation of elected municipal bodies (Charoenmuag 2005). In all, 35 *thesaban* were established by upgrading *sukhaphiban* in urban areas across the kingdom in 1933. According to the Thesaban Act, *thesaban* were divided into three types based on political geography and density of population, Thesaban Nakhon (Grand Municipal), Thesaban Muang (City Municipal) and Thesaban Tambon (Sub-district Municipal). Each *thesaban* consisted of (and remain so today) an executive body and *thesaban* council. *Thesaban* were the first hint of a shift towards local administration as local government, all members were to be directly elected rather than centrally appointed. The central government intended to replace all kinds of local government administration with *thesaban*. At that time, there were 4,800 *tambons* in Thailand, which the government planned to upgrade to *thesaban*. However, due to budgetary limitations, restricted local authority, and lack of the citizens’ political knowledge and awareness, writes Charoenmuag (2005), the policy was not fully implemented with only 117 *thesaban* established by 1952.

Education was seen as critical to national development by civilian leaders of the People’s Party. With an expanded state bureaucracy came an ever increasing demand for educated government officials. The government enlarged the education budget from 0.7 to 1.7 million baht over 1931-1939, and established The University of Moral and Political Sciences (Thammasat University) as Thailand’s second university. It had responsibility for training and increasing the number of a new kind of civil service officer for “the post-absolutist age” (Baker and Pongpaichit, 2009). The concern with

education and capacity building was only apparent in Bangkok and this left the local communities with an ongoing struggle to develop administrative skills.

Local administration continued to be viewed as a means by which the state could control as much as govern society. During General Phibun Songkham's governmental period, the government reconstructed the *sukhaphiban*. This idea had resulted from General Pibun's visit to western countries. He realised that local administrative units were not diverse and were limited to urban locations. The *sukhaphiban*, therefore, were a good solution, from General Phibun's point of view for extending local administration (Chayabud, 1993). Some scholars have observed that the recreation of *sukhaphiban* by appointing a civil servant to oversee them was a return to the approach used in the reign of King Chulalornkorn and, so, a step 'backwards' in the evolution of local government as opposed to local administration, and in effect, led to a recentralization of administrative affairs.

4.3.2 The establishment of Provincial Administrative Organisation

Although more local administrations had been established throughout the country, a number of rural areas were neglected or abandoned. In 1955, General Phibun's government launched Provincial Administrative Organisation (PAO) as a new kind of local administration to cover areas within the provinces that lay outside the reach of urban *thesaban* and *sukhaphiban* (Hongthongkam, 1980 cited in Charoenmuag, 2005). This time General Phibun nominated the provincial governor to head the PAO. Central control intensified with the Tambon Administrative Organization Act of 1956 (TAO), also by the government of General Pibun. Authority over the TAO mirrored that of the PAO and was a local body controlled by government officials. The approach can broadly be categorized as 'corporatist' meaning that community representatives, *kamnan* and *phuyaiban* were incorporated into the authority structure of these organization but not in a way that could be construed as democratic. The main reason for creating TAOs was not to promote decentralization but rather, Phibun's government aimed to expand and sustain their power over the other rural

areas by using provincial administration as a crucial control mechanism. Provincial administration acquired a much stronger state-security orientation at this time because of the rise of rural insurgencies in Laos, Cambodia, Burma and Vietnam. 'Reform' entailed recentralization and the entrenchment of authoritarian patterns of decision-making and policy implementation. Despite Phibun's removal by a nonviolent coup on 16 September 1957, orchestrated by Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, the die was cast.

4.4 The Suspension Period of Local Government: Military Authoritarian Regime

After the 1957 coup, Thailand was remained under authoritarian military rule up to 1973. The military dictators ruled Thailand with varying degrees of authoritarianism and degrees of bureaucratic polity (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1995, Samudavanija, 2002, Bunbongkarn, 1987 cited in Foran, 2007). The regimes of Field Marshals Sarit (1957-63) and Thanom (1963-73) had strong and clear anti-communism policies, which attracted financial support from the United States.

4.4.1 Authoritarian Political Culture

Authoritarian tendencies in Thai political culture were strengthened under Sarit, in the name of national security. Likhit Dhiravegin, a leading Thai political scientist (1992) explained: "Sarit was empowered by Article 17 of the Interim Constitution to take up drastic measures for the rectification of various problems including getting rid of persons who were considered his political enemies such as suspected communists, intellectuals, thinkers, writers" (p.158). Some prominent writers, for instance, Chit Pumisuk, Pleung Wanasri and Isara Amantakul were arrested. "Reign of terror" for the people was the description used by Chakrawan Chanuwong (1964 cited in Likhit, 1992) in his famous book, *Moh 17 khab 11 Naktotpraharn* (Article 17 and 11 Murdered Prisoners).

Likhit (1992) argues that Sarit's political ideology was traditionalist and narrow and led to misunderstanding and misconception of democratic principles. Sarit was educated and trained in Thailand and was, therefore, not exposed to western currents

of intellectual opinion as had the Paris-educated Pridi, for example. Thus, western democratic values and liberal political ideas were alien, and not appropriate for Thailand in his estimation. He sought to govern the country according to native political traditions and cultures, which were interpreted as leaning towards deference and obedience, values that underpinned authoritarianism and militarism (Likhit, 1992, p.159). This attitude was reflected in this statement on Prachatipatai Baeb Thai (Thai Style Democracy):

“The Revolutionary Party has an objective to turn Thailand into a democracy. It has a conviction to make democracy a success. In order to do that, rectification of the past mistake will have to be made. This is the reason for the revolution of October 20, B.E. 2501 (1958) to bring an end to the Western-style democracy which will be unsuitable for the unique situation of the Thai society. It will build a democracy of the Thai, a Thai style democracy.

The Revolutionary Party is of the opinion that the democratic principle established in Thailand after B.E. 2475 (1932) was something borrowed from the West especially from England and France. Despite the fact that improvements have been made subsequently, it was done within the context of a Western democracy therefore, all the change cannot be taken as a revolution”

(Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, Song Soon Radio Programme, 1965 cited in Likhit, 1992).

The ascendancy of locally educated and trained military officers meant that Sarit’s philosophy and approach continued after his death in 1963. In fact, the regimes of Field Marshals Sarit (1957-1963) and Thanom Kittikhachon (1963-1973) are characterised as a period of military authoritarianism supported by the United States of America. U.S. support legitimated and strengthened authoritarian rule in the interests of defeating communism in Asia.

Political centralisation and state building received substantial U.S. support. It is undeniable that this patronage came with a price and with undeclared conditions. In 1962, the U.S. set up Thailand as an army base to counter communism and in particular, to as a base for its efforts in the Vietnam War and the civil war in Laos in 1960s (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005). The establishment of U.S. bases had the ancillary effect of stimulating urbanization as people moved close to these bases to set up shops and provide services to U.S. military personnel. When U.S. foundations and organisations became active in the country, and the U.S. influence over Thailand's development priorities was explicit.

In 1961 the national economic and social development plan was first created supported by American technocrats working with a World Bank mission. This five-year-plan represented the adoption of western development discourse in Thailand. However, this merely entrenched central power through state-led development initiatives that were primarily concerned with economic as distinct from political development. The Government advanced rapid development in urban areas for speedy industrialisation after launching this plan. The result was support for privileges for the private sector, including commercial and industrial corporations. As Chaloemtiarana (1979) put it, "The first plan announced that the key note of the public development programme is, therefore, the encouragement of economic growth in the private sector" (p.151 cited in Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005). It could be said that this plan brought a new way of thinking and led to industrial development with additional social benefits distributed through employment and business creation. However, the plan also stimulated urbanisation and the abandonment of village communities by working age men and women, with long-term implications for social development in rural areas.

4.4.2 The creation of Pattaya City and Central Control

In 1978, General Kriangsak Chomanand's government introduced a special type of local administration called Pattaya City, in Chonburi Province, some 147 kilometres from Bangkok. This experiment was modelled on a council-manager or city-manager form from U.S. but was applied in Pattaya only. Pattaya had been a small fishing

village for centuries until a change on 26 April 1961, when the first group of some 100 American servicemen who had been fighting in the Vietnam War arrived in Pattaya for relaxation. In addition, the growth and urbanization of Bangkok had created a need for convenient and beautiful places for holidays, and led to Pattaya becoming a famous tourist destination in a short time (Thanate, 2005). From that beginning Pattaya became a popular beach resort and now attracts over 4 million visitors a year. Fishermen's huts along the beach were replaced by resort hotels and retail stores, night clubs and bars. These changes represent both a good example of promoting a development discourse and a case of negative environmental effects.

According to Chai-Anan (2002), apart from the strongly anti-communist policy, Sarit's initiation of National Development Plan opened the possibilities for "the tremendous development activities" of the following decades (p.92). Ultimately, the economic development was recognized as strategic tool to reduce the poverty in rural regions where communist ideology was spreading, notably in the northeast and the south. Economic development was not seen as synonymous with democratization. Indeed, economic reforms were accompanied by more autocratic government extending down to the local level.

Under the military rule of this period, local administrations were restricted or in some cases subject to direct state intervention. The main reason that local administration had been underdeveloped and adversely affected, as noted above, was that the central government concentrated on economic development. However, there were some significant developments during this period, especially the amalgamation of various local administrations in the Bangkok metropolitan area, like the Municipality of Thonburi or *Thesaban* Thonburi, to form the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA). However, the Bangkok governor was still appointed from the Ministry of Interior when the new administration was established. As a result, the development of special local governments followed the same pattern of central control. Other adjustments also strengthened central authority and further entrenched authoritarian corporatism at the local level. In 1972 Thanom's government abolished the TAOs, replacing them with *tambon* council commissions. These bodies consisted of

committees with positions reserved for the *kamnan*, *phuyaiban* and the *tambon*'s doctor. Another committee appointment was a local teacher, selected by appointed district headmen or *nai amphoe* and other committee members representing the villages, and with one person per village. Charoenmuag (2005) argues that the important point of difference between the old TAO and the new one was one of legal status. The new commissions under military rule lost their legal status, and hence some autonomy, because under these new conditions they could only implement policies assigned from central government and could not independently approve local development projects. Subsequently, the *tambon* council commission converted from local government to provincial authority. On the other hand, the government under Thanom strengthened the power of the *kamnun*, *phuyaiban* and officials as they were representatives of an authoritarian government. As a result, the populations in rural areas were directly controlled by the state in the era of military dictatorship.

4.5 Popular Uprising and Its Aftermath

Democratization is an incremental process, and in the Thai context democratization has moved in a top-down rather than bottom-up direction. Thailand passed through a period of major internal political instability before the state recognised the imperative to become more responsive to the needs of rural communities. For nearly two decades under military rule the civil society sector, especially students in university, tried to find ways around “benevolent despotism” (Chai-Anan, 2002). In the discourse of civil society, the student movement was seen as a significant development in the formation of popular civil society in Thailand. This movement started with social pressure on the military government, from the student movement calling for political reform, a new constitution, and a parliament.

Chai-Anan (2002) describes how on the October 6, 1973, nine student leaders of Ramkhamhaeng University and political activists were arrested while they were handing out flyers which required “immediate promulgation of a new constitution”. Later, the government proclaimed that the police had discovered a communist plan to oust the government (p.93). This event drew a serious reaction from many students. A

demonstration took place that was joined by a large number of people. Within the week, hundreds of thousands of students and others joined the mass demonstration that had started on 13 October 1973 at Thammasat University, and then had moved to the Democracy monument on Rajadamnern Avenue. In parallel, there were other demonstrations in major provinces (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005). After that series of demonstrations, arrested student leaders were released but the protest continued because of the commitment to its deep purpose: restoration of a constitution. After extended negotiation, the student leaders accepted a promise from the government that within one year a constitution would be re-established. The ultimate goal had been achieved.

The student movement and allies like the Federation of Farmers Associations, challenged and stood up to the authoritarian regime with non-violence, and they won. However, a number of shots rang out on the quiet Sunday morning of 14 October 1973, turning the day into an historical turning point. Many students found themselves unable to leave Rajadamnern Avenue where they stayed overnight as the police attempted to control the flow of the crowd by blocking the southern route to Rajavithi Road (Likhit, 1992). The police started with teargas and gunfire. The demonstrators then went on a rampage. Some ran and escaped to the king's palace gate for protection. Baker and Phongpaichit (2005) report, "Soldiers fired into the crowd, killing 77 and wounding 857" (p.187). This incident was stopped by a division of the military leadership and the demand of the king that "the *three tyrants* [Thanom, Praphat, and Narong, who was Thanom's son married to Praphat's daughter] go in to exile" (p.187). Later, Professor Sanya Thammasuk, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Chancellor of Thammasat University was appointed by the king as the 16th Prime Minister. According to Baker and Phongpaichit (2005) this uprising on 14 October 1973, which overthrew the dictatorship projected students as significant actors with an important role in Thai's history and political development. Additionally, the event portrayed the king's position as "a supra-constitutional force arbitrating the conflicts of a deeply divided nation" (p.187). In January 1975, two years after the successful popular uprising led by the students, a new constitution was

drawn up and a national election date was scheduled under Sanya's government. There were heightened hopes for a stable democracy in Thai society.

In practice, however, a series of weak coalition governments struggled until 1976 (Banpasirichote, 2004 p.255). In 1976 a massacre of students at Thammasat University saw Thailand return to a military dictatorship. It was a tragic and dark period in Thai political history. It began with Thanom returning to Thailand to prompt another round of protests on 6 October 1976. In fact, this incident involved right and left ideological conflict and led a number of students, workers, and social activists to join the Communist Party of Thailand or CPT and to take refuge and base themselves in the forest (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005).

4.5.1 Anti-Communist Policy at the Local Level

The military and central government re-asserted power through a 'counter-insurgency policy'. General Prem Tinsulanond was the leading army commander who united military and political strategies. He had risen to army chief through successful counter-insurgency actions in the Northeast Region. Phongpaichit and Baker (1995) explain Prem's methods which endorsed him as head of the army, then Defence Minister, and finally, as Prime Minister: "First, he built roads into the CPT base and cleared away large tracts of forest to deny sanctuary to the guerrillas. Next, he launched heavy military attacks to put them on the defensive. Finally, he moved into the surrounding villages with propaganda teams, development service, village-level organisation and offers of amnesty in return for complete surrender (p.312-13). This strategy, so called 'village surround the forest', led to the end of armed conflict with CPT and the decline of communist movement.

In March 1980 within a month of becoming Prime Minister, Prem announced the conciliatory Executive Order 65/2523 which included amnesty for all CPT cadres. Order 65/2523, and its more detailed replacement, 66/2525 in 1982 amounted to a reform platform with the term *prachathipatai* (democracy) used to mean political development, and led by the army in the name of the people, and justified by the

alleged threat of communism. As Phongpaichit and Baker put it (1995), “the 1980s experienced significant tensions over this special political status the military had appropriated”. In particular, the 1978 constitution contained temporary clauses granting the military the right to maintain a “guiding” or “supervisory” role in Parliament and the Executive, including the right to serve as Prime Minister. During the 1980s, military men repeatedly pressured Prime Minister Prem and the parliament to make these clauses permanent by subjecting “a White Paper and the Democratic Soldiers broadcast a people’s message”, but without success, however. This was a serious challenge and the military warned that they might need to “conduct exercises” if it needed. The military argued, for instance, that they were “more democratic” than corrupt elected businessmen (p.348).

4.5.2 The Emergence of Civil Society as a New Actor

The communist-led insurgency ended at the beginning of 1980s. After this collapse, activists and students, who went to the forest to join the CPT, returned home. Some ex-student activists joined NGOs involved in community development. Some went back to domestic universities or to study abroad with scholarships. The seeds of civil society with significant actors engaging with the issue of natural resource management had been planted. Radical environmental movements arose throughout the country. Specifically, two major protests against the Nam Choan Dam in Kanchanaburi province and the Tantalum Industrial Plant in Phuket Province were the first steps of “politicization of environmental issues” (Hirsch, 1990).

In addition, as Amara Pongsapich (2002) argues, the appearance of civil society organizations during 1980s, with a development focus but in the form of non-political organizations reflected two factors. The first was the degree to which people faced problems arising from or related to development activity. There was a need for the urban middle classes to ‘understand’ the poor, or at least view development from what became known as a ‘pro-poor’ perspective, and implement self-help strategies to assist the poor to help themselves. This condition became very apparent and resulted in the expansion of civil society. The second condition was that many committed

individuals felt that the ways government agencies worked and the efforts of government agencies to tackle the problems related to development were not always successful. Similarly, Pongsapich et al (2003) claim civil society organizations developed the notion that they were able to provide an alternative means to address these problems.

4.6 Local Government in Transition

4.6.1 Corruption and Social Movement

Economic development in the 1980s also altered the political landscape of politics, with the rise of business associations and a more assertive business class. The 1988 election turned a page of political development when the Chat Thai Party won the election and Chatichai Choonhavan succeeded General Prem as the Prime Minister. Chatichai's career began as cavalry officer and he then moved to become a diplomat, next was involvement in the business sector before he formed Chat Thai Party. Baker and Phongpaichit (2005) stress that government under Chatichai was characterised by, "business against military" and the period showcased expansion of business in politics and a significantly increased number of Members of Parliament (MPs), and Cabinet members from business sector. Governance under Chatichai was seen as "Money Politics" and "Buffet Cabinet" and there was evidence of massive corruption - or its transliterated form, *korruption* (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p.246). The attempt to diminish the power of the military over government met with resistance and a coup in 1991 after which governmental power became vested in the military-controlled National Peace Keeping Council (NPKC).

Generals Sunthorn Kongsompong and Suchinda Kraprayoon, and other generals of Class 5 of the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy staged a coup to overthrow Prime Minister Chatichai Choonhavan in February 1991. This coup charged Chatichai's government as a corrupt regime. The NPKC brought in a civilian Prime Minister, Anand Panyarachun, who was appointed by the King. Anand's anti-corruption policy and transparency approach proved popular among the middle class and the business sector. In March 1992 another general election was held. The

winning party, Samakkhitham could not form government due to suspected involvement in drug trading of its leader, Narong Wongwan. Therefore, he had to step back and General Suchinda was the next Prime Minister. This situation led to a demonstration in April 1992. With the prospect of being dictated to by a military government, middle class, student and civil society group united. Coalition groups led by the Student Federation of Thailand and the Campaign for Popular Democracy opposed the nomination and encouraged by human rights and pro-democracy principles, non-government organizations led a tragic public protest in May 1992 that resulted in bloodshed (Pongsapich et al, 2003,). Domestic and international communities reacted strongly to the 'Bloody May' incident and later, the king stepped in and forced Suchinda's resignation. Thailand once again turned in hope to Anand Panyarachun, who was appointed as Prime Minister and set a new election for September 1992. In this election, the political parties that opposed the military in May won by a narrow margin and Chuan Leekpai, a leader of the Democrat Party, became Prime Minister and led a five-party coalition government. The advocates for reform and change called for the rewriting of the constitution and these calls eventually resulted in the creation of a new Constitution in 1997. The idea of constitutionalism was reintroduced into the political system. It was expected to bring about political reform through submission to liberal democratic government in Thailand.

4.7 Local Government in the Globalisation Era

As discussed in Chapter one, Thailand's 1997 financial crisis was linked to issues of poor governance, said at the time to be endemic to Thailand's system of government. First and foremost it was a crisis caused by poor financial governance but this reflected broader structural problems in the Thai economy and focussed greater attention on weakness in Thailand's political system. The central government accepted assistance from the IMF and ADB. In return it agreed to administrative reform in line with the 'Washington Consensus' and a condition of the donors was that Thailand adopted and implemented a 'good governance approach', which called for transparency, accountability, efficiency, fairness, and participation in many mechanism of administration and at all levels. Thailand became one of the countries in Asia that needed to formulate and implement market policies in line with the

Washington Consensus (Phongpaichit and Baker, 2000). For this reason, and the influence of New Public Management ideology (NPM) as well as the Democratic Governance Paradigm (DGP), further public administrative reform ensued (Bidhya, 2001).

4.7.1 The 1997 ‘People’s Constitution’ and Decentralization in progress

Several crucial factors promoted political development through decentralization processes and democratization. First and foremost was the introduction of the 1997 Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand. The constitution and legal system served as a crucial tool to create new solutions for political development and to generate political reform in Thailand. Many scholars agree that the 1997 Constitution was a major turning point for local autonomy and local empowerment through decentralization (Mektrirat, 2005). In section 78 of the Constitution, it states that decentralization is one of the major national policies and basic to a new political agenda. Additionally, sections 282 – 290 of Chapter 9 were allocated to local government matters. Subsequently, the Decentralization Plan and Process Act of 1999 were launched to support and transform public law, supported by a practical plan and process. In this regard, several tasks and responsibilities were mandated to local governments. Section 282 of the 1997 Constitution mandates that the state should delegate autonomy to local government in accordance with the principles of self-government and the needs of the residents.

In the subordinate law, the Decentralization Plan and Process Act stated that the Municipality, TAO, and Pattaya City should implement the following tasks.

- Firstly, to generate local and community planning and development.
- Secondly, promotion of local economic development, investment, employment, trade, and tourism are vital tasks.
- Thirdly, local public services including local roads, walkways, public transportation system and traffic light engineering, public markets, ports and docks, waste treatment, water drainage system, public utilities, parks and

recreation, garbage collection, pet controls, slaughtering, public safety, natural resource and environmental protection, disaster control, sanitation and cremation services need to be provided.

- Fourthly, social welfare services provision, including education, social welfare for children and for the elderly and disabilities, primary health care and medical services, housing and restoration, arts and culture.
- Fifthly, the promotion of democratic values, civil rights, public participation, laws and order, and conflict resolution are also important

Alongside the requirement that administrative bodies perform these functions, the Act also made provision for the responsibilities of the Provincial Administrative Organisations (PAO). There were two main tasks. Firstly, they should create and formulate provincial development plans with respect to the principles of economic growth and efficiency. Secondly, they should carry out and deliver the large-scale public works that could not be conducted by smaller local governments within a provincial area. Profit should accrue to communities in a province, for instance, from infrastructure projects like road construction, local electricity supply, waste water treatment, solid waste disposal, and large-scale public transportation.

The promulgation of the Constitution in 1997 also entailed institutional and legal shifts toward more transparent administration that reflected a stronger sense of public need and interest. Sections 76 to 79 mandated the state to strengthen local participation in both national level and local government decision-making processes. Ordinary people were to have the right to participate in developing public policies, in making decisions on local issues, in expressing opinions on economic, social, and political development plans, and in inspecting the exercise of state power at all levels, and space and opportunity for Thai citizens to access and participate in the public administrative system.

4.7.2 Local Reform Movement

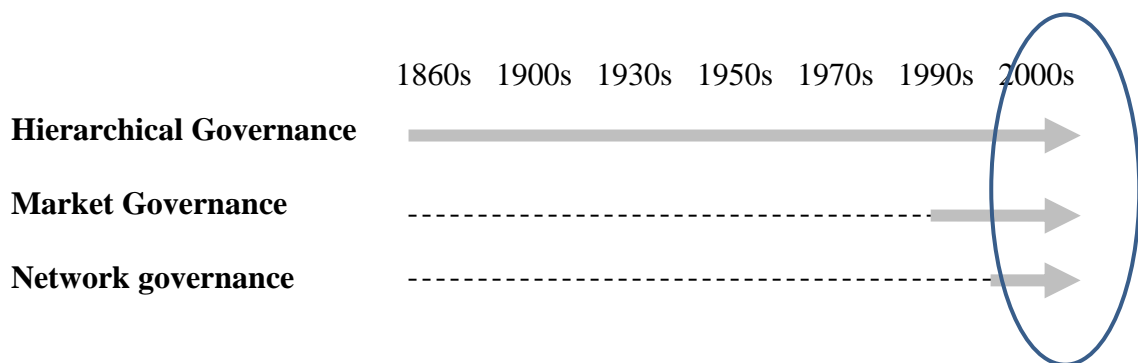
After the mass protest against the military rule in 1992, the civilian government was led by Chuan Leekpai, a leader of the Democratic Party. Chuan's government continued to rely on the existing bureaucracy when it came to the implementation of decentralisation policy. Before this government, *tambon* organisation was a "quasi-bureaucracy body in which the *kamnan* had dual duties." The duties involved not only performing as head of the village but also acting as executive member of local governments (Nelson, 1998, p.32).

In 2003, there was an additional amendment to the Tambon Council and Tambon Administration Organisations Act (No.4) of 2003. The main changes were the name of the executive position and executive body of TAOs. The amendment changed the names of the TAO executive committee chairman to become the TAOs Executive Board, and altered the executive committee numbers. At the end of the same year, the enactment of Tambon Council and Tabon Administration Organisation (No.5) had been enacted. This resulted in significant change to the way chief executives at TAO level were appointed. Every TAO would have a chief executive by election. Additionally, there was no longer a requirement that the TAO executive board appointed the chief administrator as secretary to the TAO executive board. Instead, the TAO executive board needed to appoint a person who was not a member of council or a permanent bureaucrat as secretary of the executive board. Moreover, the TAO councils could appoint a chief administrator or any councillor to serve as secretary to the TAO council. This returned substantial authority to local level government bodies.

After the 2006 coup and the installation of the 2007 constitution, central government had moved away from developing local self-government. Instead, the government had promoted and expanded central control over the local government. In particular there were many modifications to local authority (*thongtee*) and administration. The Ministry of the Interior changed the role and function of *tambon* head and village leader significantly. Firstly, both the *kamnan* head and the village leader have become representatives with responsibility for implementing central government policy.

Secondly, the length of working period was changed from five years to a tenure ending at 60 years of age.. Thirdly, the selection process for village leader was changed with the selection of eligible candidates being directed by the Ministry of Interior. Similarly, election of the tambon head was also changed from direct election by popular vote to selection from among village leaders. Due to the strengthening of central control through the local representative, I argue that the logic of this changed arrangement contradicts the principle of local democratic governance and it has also introduced confusion to the roles and functions of key policy players in the newly network form of governance. The removal of popular election leaves local government open to manipulation by local power brokers connected to the central government. Figure 4.1 summarises part one of this chapter by tracing the history of the development of governance in Thailand.

Figure 4.1: Development of the changing mode of governance in Thailand



Source: Adapted from Meuleman, 2008, p.43

Part Two: The context of Thai local Community

4.8 Tradition and Authority in the Local Village

Analysis of local government development must take into consideration more than the formal legal and bureaucratic structures created by central authorities to manage affairs of state. The Thai policy context incorporates the values and attitude of policy makers but also the governed recipients of policy. Consequently, traditional attitudes to authority and traditions within authority relationships have a significant bearing upon how government is experienced and comprehended at the local level. The following section will illustrate these general observations and then turn to village culture, in particular in north-eastern and southern regions.

4.8.1 National tradition: Patronage system, Sakdina and Authoritarianism

A patronage system is fundamental to the Thai traditional legacy of authority. Hagene describes the characteristics of patronage or a clientage system as a personal relationship between unequal parties, but although the relationship is not formed or based on equality it is not necessarily resisted by the clients. On the contrary, clients often look for patronage since it represents a strategic solution to problem solving. In fact, patrons and clients have mutual commitments, thus it can truly be seen as a reciprocal relationship which is also voluntary, as clients may change their patron over time, and vica-versa. Hagene's description of patron-client relationships is similar to Keyes's (1989) argument on the patronage system. Hagene claims "Patron-client relations, as conceived by the Thai, would seem to be inimical to a class system since individuals can, and do, change their positions in hierarchy during their lifetime" (Keyes, 1989, p.136).

There are definite obligations in such relationships, for example, rich patrons promise to provide jobs, protection, infrastructure and other benefits to powerless and poor clients in exchange for labour, votes, and other forms of loyalty (Kermath, 2005).

Escobar (2002) and Chavas (2002) strongly argues that patron-client relationships in the present day are an evil to be resisted. They view such a system as a practice of supremacy, which is incompatible with citizenship, modern technology, administration, including governance (Escobar, 2002 and Chavas, 2002 in Hagene, 2002, p.16). In many less developed countries, however, traditional patronage systems still remain while checks and balances are weak (Keuleers, 2004, p.11).

According to Kraingsuk (2007) in Thai context the patron-client relationships has been perceived as a distinctive form of social status, in that the patrons have a higher status than the clients. The distinguishing characteristics of relationships, however, are founded not only on coalition but also the competitiveness of access to resources. On the one hand, Rungsun (1993) states that the formal patronage system, as a relationship between the bureaucratic authorities and controlled labour and slaves, can be seen as *sakdina* or Thai feudal in the historical period before and during the process of nation-state building. On the other hand, a patronage system is still evident in the shape of informal patronage systems that are both undercover and operate with the same way as *sakdina*. Research and analysis of communities in Phitsanulok province conducted by Hantrakul and Scholle reveals the local reality that the communities are a system which is subject to political influence through patron-client relationships (Hantrakul and Scholle, 2005). As a result, I argue that the patronage system and its feudal traces are deeply embedded and of profound influence in Thai society.

The establishment of authoritarian government has been strongly influenced by the patronage system and feudalism. Kraingsuk (2007) highlights that the culture of group constitution and privilege is the result of feudalism and patron-client relationships. When the patrons are like “lords or masters” or *Caonai* or advance their relationships through accumulating power and authority, clients like peasants will gain more power as well. Alternatively, when the patrons’ power has been decreased, the clients in the relations will experience a worsening of their conditions. Additionally, the clients or masters normally help and back up each other rather than assisting outsiders who belong to different groups. In the past, power in Thai society was the key indicator of

rights, justice and legitimacy. This idea has contributed to the obedience of power as Kraingsuk, (2007) states “legal is the power” (p.3). In fact, legal represents right, justice and legitimacy. Legal functions as order or rule of law for public affairs

4.8.2 Regional Differences

The two communities that are the focus of empirical investigation of this study are located in the Northeast and the South of Thailand, two of the most populous regions of Thailand that together account for 48 per cent of the Thai population. The tables 4.1 and 4.2 present the economic and human development indicators which illustrate the marked differences between the two regions.

Table 4.1: Regional variations in per capita income and poverty

Regions	Annual Per Capita Income, 20001	Poverty Incidence (percentage), 20002
Bangkok	234,398	0.3
Bangkok Metropolitan Region	208,631	1.4
Central	75,075	6.1
Northeast	26,755	28.1
North	39,402	12.2
West	59,021	6.1
East	166,916	5.2
South	53,966	11
Kingdom	78,783	14.2

Source: National Accounts Office, Office of the Economic and Social Development Board NESDB, 2004.

Table 4.2: Regional differences - selected welfare indicators

Regions	Maternal mortality per 100,000 births	% 1 st degree malnutrition in under fives	% Households in slum Conditions	% workforce with social security	% no education	Mean years of schooling	% higher secondary enrolment
Bangkok	10	4.01	12.7	47.5	4	9.6	58.2
Central	11	3.26	33.5	24.6	4.8	7.1	61.5
Northeast	9.8	10.26	48.8	3.4	2.8	6.7	45.7
South	19.9	6.55	24.8	9.4	7.7	7.1	54
Kingdom	12.9	7.36	26.9	17.1	5.5	7.3	52

Source: UNDP, 2007

According to the UNDP (2007), the Northeast scores worst of all regions on all indicators except the two key human development indicators of maternal mortality and level of formal education, in these two it is the South that scores worst. The Northeast also has both the highest incidence of poverty and the greatest number of poor people, around four million, while the South is one of the wealthiest regions of the country.

These outcomes are an important consideration when seeking to understand the wellbeing and prospects of different men, women and children, but we must also remember that there is great diversity within the regions. In addition, the report of the South also reveals that the three most southerly provinces are amongst the poorest in the (UNDP, 2007). It should be noted that due to the access of data and security reasons, these three border provinces were not considered for case selection in this research.

The economic differences between the regions have an environmental context. The Northeast is predominantly semi-arid plateau, previously used to cultivate rice and low-return field crops such as cassava, while the South has an agricultural base of rubber, fruit and tin production, which have been more rewarding. The southern

region also has large coastal area which has benefited from fishing and the development of international tourism. A lot of the mega-project investment has been along the southern seaboard. The two regions also have distinctive histories and as a result have particular social and cultural identities which will be discussed in more detail.

4.8.3 Village Culture

Chatthip (1984, 2005) suggests that Thai villages and social organisations at the local level have failed to engage or create relationships with state agencies over the past few decades. Some of the reasons for this are political, some cultural. Strictly speaking there is no single 'traditional' Thai village culture. Rather, there are many regional variations in local cultural beliefs and practices, and many variations within regions. For the purposes of explaining how local cultural forms influence the direction of local government reform and affect the introduction of "good governance" principles, some of these beliefs, practices and differences are noted here.

In Thai village tradition, family, kinship and elders play are key influences. At the individual level, one must obey or respect the seniority of family members and relatives. This strong link of kinship as a social network by blood lines remains the crucial element in the power structure of Thai communities. The Northeast is referred to as *Isan*. While this unique identity is contested and incorporates groups with different ethnic and language history, nevertheless, it is an important label that distinguishes North-eastern people from the rest of Thailand's politics and culture. In the area of Lower South including Songkla province, it contains a large proportion of Thai Muslims and people who are ethnically Malay. As Chanikornpradit (2008) points out the village communities in the south of Thailand share the ideas of self-reliance and a harmonious relationship to nature. The villagers have a tradition of sharing and helping each other in a way that is known in Thai 'Namjai'. The resource dependency, including labour and knowledge and wisdom in relation to daily life stimulates collaborative efforts, to assist one to another and undertake collective action. However, this collective action occurs only with resource mobilisation for the common good within the context of a shared village culture.

According to Chatthip (1999) in his book, 'The Thai village economy in the past' international trade impacted on peasant lives and their production. Self-sufficiency was the key characteristic of production and was ingrained in Thai villages long before the process of modernization and globalisation. Products were collected from the forest, such as hides, bird nests and sandal wood. Cooperation between villagers, mutuality, reciprocity and kinship were the foundation of village cohesion. In a recent work, Chathip (2010) raises the question of modernity and its challenge for Thai communities. He claims that for Thai society the community is the enduring, fundamental system. Modernity challenges the fundamental character of Thai communities and raises questions as to whether or not they can evolve to adjust and how.

Approaches to rural development that attempt a village perspective and incorporate village cultures emphasise the centrality of community. Chatthip Naksupa and Anan Kanchanapan argue that the strength of a community lies in the reconstruction and enhancement of the original value of the each community or village culture. Kanchanapan further argues that the autonomy of indigenous communities under socialism and decentralization are vital in the Thai context. Anan Kanchanapan (2002) based his conceptual sociological study on a view that emphasises the diversity of the culture in each community, and adaptability to a changing environment. The group focussed area of study is the rural community. In addition, this study claims that *Mooban* or village is the best unit of self-governing as it ignores the control from the state government. Anan Kanchanapan, however, has asserted that communities should be able to rely on state in the times of need. Thus, the advancement of good government at the local level requires, on the part of those leading the reform, an awareness of and sensitivity towards local cultural variations rather than a 'one size fits all' approach.

Table 4.3: The distinguish context characteristics between northeast and sound regions

Elements	Context Characteristics	
	Northeast Region	South Region
History	Some areas were under The Loa Kingdom of Lan Xang (1354-1707)	Some areas were under the Pattani Kingdom (1516-1912)
Border geography	Laos and Cambodia Northeast Plateau Mekong Basin	Malaysia Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT)
Demographic	Issan, Thai-Lao and Khmer	Thai-Malay and sino-thai
Political geography	Nation-state building Red Shirt Dominant	Sensibility of terrorism Yellow shirt dominant
Political tradition	Merit Rebellion Inactive citizenship	Anarchic Active citizenship Highly politicized culture
Economic	Agriculture Rice Framing, Cassava, Weaving	Agriculture and Commercial Rice Farming, Rubber, Orchards, Mines, Fisheries
Civil society	Active and strong civil society	Active and strong civil society
	Conformity	Conformity
Development pace	Slow progress	Rapid progress
Language,	Lao, Kmer, Thai-Issan	Thai-malay, Southern dialect
Religion,	Buddhism Spirit	Buddhism Muslim
Folk Play	Mor Lum	Shadow Play, Nora

Source: Author's own work

4.9 Conclusion

Public administration is a relatively new concept in Thai political history. The term 'public' implies government and administration for the public benefit as understood within the western tradition but in Thailand government and administration is closely associated with public order and central or royal power. Thai political order has drawn its legitimacy not from the abstract will of the people but the will of the ruler or king. Despite the importation of systems of functional government ministries and departments in the late 19th century and the introduction of a parliamentary system of government in 1932, traditional patterns of authority and power relations persist through the evolution of government and administration. State-civil society relations in the northeast and south are very different due to different historical experiences. The development of local government structures in both regions is quite similar, the challenges of governance are significant, and the differences attract the attention of policy makers at the centre.

Chapter 5

The Practices of the Khao Kok Community (KKC)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a description and discussion of the first case study, Khao Kok Community (KKC) in Buriram Province in the northeast of Thailand. As discussed in Chapter 3, the data for this case study was gathered by questionnaire, in-depth interview and participant observation, and analysed using a mix of qualitative and quantitative techniques. A thematic approach was employed. The chapter firstly provides a descriptive profile of Khao Kok community followed by an analysis of network arrangements, encompassing both network formation and network performance. Trust as a factor in local governance network arrangements and collaborative efforts is considered at length.

5.2 Khao Kok Community Profile and its Environmental Concerns

5.2.1 Geography and Demography – Background

As the Buriram Province Community Development Office describes (2007), Khao Kok community is a major rural *Tambon (sub-district)* in Prakhon Chai district, Buriram province, in the Northeast of Thailand, with a population of 9,751 and comprising 2,274 households in 2008. Khao Kok community covers 15 villages spread across an area of approximately 94,006 square kilometres adjoining the Thailand-Cambodia border. It is classified as a tropical dry forest area characterized by dry dipterocarp forest and woodland. The environmental setting is one of economic marginality, low soil fertility, insufficient and unpredictable rainfall, insufficient drainage, and a generally limited natural resource base (Ngamchoie, 2007).

5.2.2 Society, Culture and Economy – Background

Culturally, the KKC community is typical of rural communities in the lower Northeast. Most residents are self-reliant farmers. Most commonly they are rice farmers who also rear livestock. The majority of women hand-weave their cloth for their own use and sell their surplus. The community culture is a blend or hybrid of Thai, Laos and Cambodian or Khmer cultures. Officially, standard Thai is widely spoken but 42 per cent of the population still speak the northern Khmer dialect, which is quite distinct from the lowland Khmer spoken across the border in Cambodia. The community is close-knit with households incorporating extended family members. Villagers are principally Buddhist but also adhere to traditional spirit belief systems and practice ancestor worship.

The community is confronted by economic and environmental challenges common to all villages of the Mun River system. Frequent floods, droughts and poor harvests in recent years have been major issues for concern (Buriram Province Agricultural Office, 2005). Khao Kok community forest spans 168.75 acres and is considered the centre of life for the community, as the source of food, traditional herbal medicines and construction materials. The average annual income of the population was approximately 29,000 baht, a little over the standard of poverty line, 20,000 baht (Buriram Province Community Development Office, 2007). As a result, the daily life of Khao Kok villagers is entirely dependent on the local forest. This circumstance underscores the importance of environmental policy development for the Khao Kok community.

5.2.3 Local Government and Administration

Khao Kok community is governed by the Khao Kok Tambon Administration Organisation (TAO), established under the Council and Tambon Administration Organization Act of 1994 (Amended 1999 and 2003). TAO of KKC consists of the Tambon Council and Tambon Administration Executive body. Council members are chosen by election, with two representatives elected from each village. The head of the Executive body is, according to convention, also the leader of the political party that has a majority of representatives. The head works with members of Congress and

other elected representatives or local public authorities, in line with public regulations. The local government model in KKC was established under the national process of decentralisation and it functions within the standard principles and guidelines from central government with regard to local administrative systems.

5.2.4 The Establishment of Civil Society Associations

The first and strongest of the civil society groups at Khao Kok community is a community forestry group. In 1973 a small group of villagers convened to tackle the effects of massive legal and illegal logging. The organic growers group and local women's group for enhancing jobs also play an important role in community development.

The establishment of the community forestry group was based on the shared concerns of members of the Lahock KraSang community, who strongly associate with the forest in everyday life. They consume natural forest produce, which is a high-value source of nutrition, alternative medicines and domestic and economic supplies such as timber and a range of mushrooms. Since the late 1990s, the decrease of natural stock, in particular wild food, herbs and timber in the communal forest area has brought natural and environmental issues in KKC to prominence, and the seriousness and complexity called for collaboration amongst involved parties to produce an effective 'public' solution.

5.3 Data Generation

Several research techniques were employed to investigate the practice of local administration in KKC. As discussed in Chapter 3, this research employs ethnographical methods combining with questionnaire survey and in-depth interview techniques. The research methodology emphasises the link between data generation and data analysis and the methods employed were informed and adapted as an iterative process that reflected the active role of the researcher within the community during the data generation phase. The presence of the researcher was accepted within the KKC, and formally through a local welcoming ceremony. This subsequently proved important in gaining the participants' trust and, thereby, access to ongoing

research data. The survey was distributed to the actors in both public sector and civil society groups, and the results enabled a ‘snowball technique’, of progressive insight that could be utilized to identify significant actors in the changing local governance scene.

- **Research Participants**

The participants came from across the sectors. The first of the participants for the questionnaire consisted of 69 respondents from state agency staff and civil society group members at KKC. Table 5.1 sets out the demographic data for the cohort.

Table 5.1 Questionnaire Respondents’ Demographics in KKC case study

Institution	Gender	Position in Organization	Membership Period
State Agencies n = 22	Male	72.7%	Executive 36.4%
	Female	27.3%	Member 63.6%
			< 1 year 28.4%
Civil Society Group n = 48			1-5 years 61.3%
			> 5 years 20.3%
	Male	78.6%	Executive 23.7%
	Female	21.4%	Member 76.3%
			< 1 year 17.2%
			1-5 years 11.3%
			> 5 years 72.5%

Source: Author’s own work

Drawing on the survey data, the following profile of respondents was developed. As would be expected, the majority of state agency officers worked at the operational level (63.6%), only 36.4% held an executive position. State agency staff indicated that they had worked for more than a year on average in their organization. More than three quarters (76.3%) of the respondents from civil society groups had worked at the ordinary-member level, with only 23.7% holding an executive position. The majority of civil society group participants had been members of the local community forestry group, organic producer group and local woman’s group for more than five years (72.5%).

The second collection of participants consists of the key informants nominated for the interview process. The respondents were recruited by using a ‘snowball’ technique. The full range of nominated interview participants was reviewed. Next, ten interview participants including state agency officers and civil society members were approached for face-to-face, in-depth interviews. Table 5.2 presents the interview participants’ demographics.

Table 5.2: Interview Participants’ Demographics in KKC case study

Institution	Gender	Position in Organization	Membership Period
State Agencies n = 10	Male	Executive	< 1 year
	Female	Member	1-5 years
			> 5 years
Civil Society Group n = 10	Male	Executive	< 1 year
	Female	Member	1-5 years
			> 5 years

The majority of state agency officer participants were male (90.0%). More than half (60%) worked in an operational position and 40% held executive positions at state agencies. About 60% of interviewees worked in their organisation for more than five years and the rest has worked for one to five years (40%). Notably, female participation in civil society activities is much higher and this is reflected in the questionnaire data. Moreover, active participation in civil society, in KKC at least, creates pathways for women to gain access to representative and decision making positions within their community. Additionally, the current leader of the local community forestry group previously held the leader position in a local woman’s group. Interestingly, the majority of interview participants from the civil society sphere hold an executive position (70%) while 30% were ordinary members. Seventy per cent of these interviewees had been with their civil society group for more than 5 years, and none were new members.

5.4 The Formation of Network Based Structure

The transformation of local community governance arrangements and processes in KKC reflects the impact of public administration reforms shaped substantially by the national level, and reflected the adoption of World Bank good governance principles. However, they also reflected the evolution of local collaborative networks, as was discussed in Chapter 2.

5.4.1 The Contextual Influence

As positive as these developments might at first seem, democratization at the tambon level has been affected by corrosive influences evident throughout the electoral system at all levels in Thailand. Representative democracy is an ideal to which villagers can relate but these days, the buying of votes is apparent at all levels of elections. If this perception hinders active participation and reinforces a passive political culture, it also does not give the full picture of developments in representative democracy in Northeast Thailand.

The citizens' political attitudes have changed significantly as a consequence of the growth of civil society activities. This change has addressed a need for and promoted deliberative democracy and a more participatory or inclusive approach to development – driven by the increased capacity for policy initiative within local civil society groups.

A Driving Force for Collaboration

The network arrangement in KKC community was a response to public policy demands and concerns raised by the third sector, or civil society to deal with environmental challenges. The strongest civil society voice was that of the leader of the community forestry group. On one hand, state agencies needed to respond to public sector reforms that prescribed more community participation in local governance. This policy prescription brought community stakeholders into local government processes through network arrangements that facilitated increased community participation in decision making, and an appreciation of 'partnerships

between local government and civil society group. As one respondent from local government indicated:

“Local government leaders and officials need to be aware and change the way of working to be more open and welcoming to other sectors, especially ordinary citizens. Participation is a must. Local government can no longer work alone. It needs to seek and create partnerships from the community. Now, there are two committees which are a mix of sectors engaged in planning local development plan. You know... The integration in community is a bottom line. (Interview, LG3, my translation)”

The attitude of the local government executive level towards local community network formation was positive in formal terms, it also displayed ambivalence bordering on the dismissive. As the TAO chairman stated:

“Um....the Ministry of Interior informed commanded us (local government) with the regulations and orders for change and develop the community planning. Actually, in the past we (local government) had been thinking about team working but there is no room for that. If you want to know more about this you can ask my secretary. He is also hold the committee position in civil society group. (Interview, LG1, my translation)”

On the other hand, civil society groups enthusiastically expressed their needs and concerns about environmental sustainability for the community. Strategies for mobilization and participation were initiated by their leader and community committee. In the beginning, the community forestry group leaders addressed their escalating environmental problem through an open community forum. But the impact of this strategy proved limited due to a lack of follow-through on key issues discussed by those in attendance. In order to sustain community involvement in local problem solving the leader of the civil society group sought and won election to the local TAO as a representative of the community association. This strategy was explained by one of interviewee:

“We (civil society group) had been trying to involve and participate with local government in many ways. We joined and expressed our opinions via community forum but it doesn’t work, I think. Therefore I applied for a candidate of community council. Once I became a community council member, I spoke in the name of civil society group. (Interview, CS1, my translation)”

The community leader experienced the difficulty of attending as a private individual and as a representative of the civil society group: “I have been observed and suspected and from other members in community council. Some directly ask me after I proposed my expression that those ideas are from me or my groups” (Interview, CS1, my translation). This level of involvement was only achieved for the period of this community leader’s term of official appointment, though at the end of the term, civil society groups continued to participate in community meetings and forums. In the past ten years, there has been a discussion panel about environmental issues in local government to which other actors were invited – including the civic leaders who were the main leaders of community groups or monks or senior citizens formerly in executive positions, or private business people. This recognition, if somewhat informal, led to levels of networking well beyond the scope of the hierarchical mechanisms within traditional local governance in Thailand.

5.4.2 The presence of Network Arrangements and Key Actors

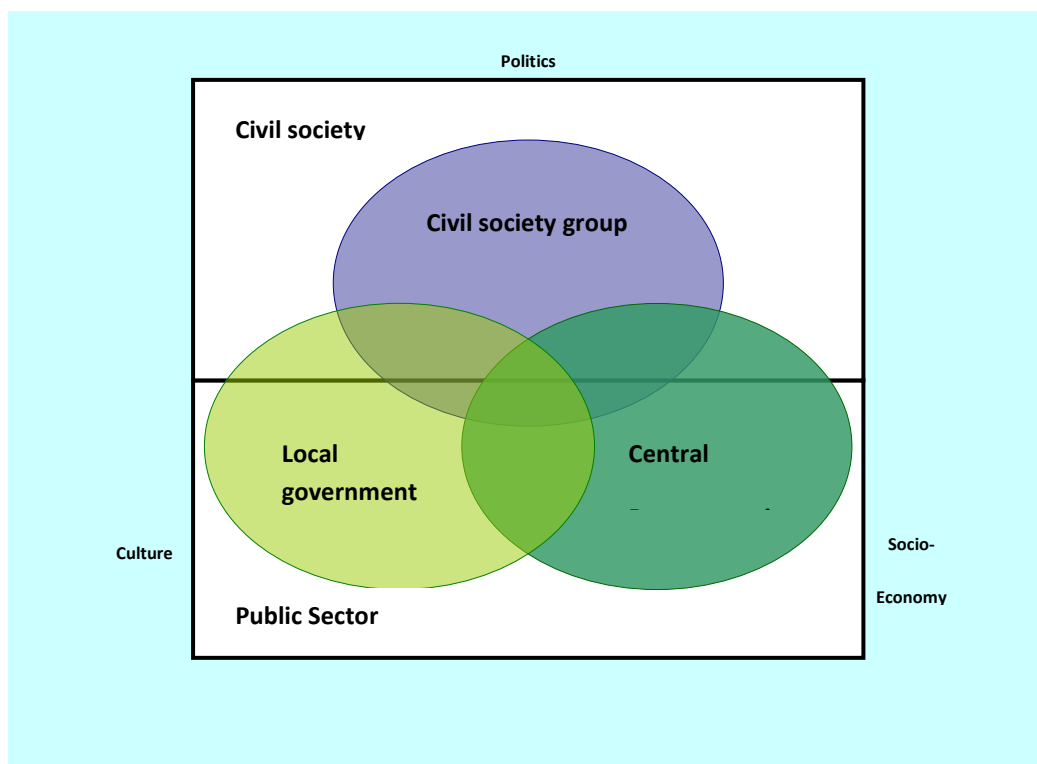
To better understand the structure and characteristics of this local network governance, we first need to identify the key actors in the network. Due to the resource limitations of this study, the key respondents are a cross-section only, selected from among civil society group and state agencies at large. Importantly, key actors have change and move from one sector to another from time to time. For example, leaders from civil society tend to hold multiple positions of trust spanning the formal and informal ‘public’ sector including local government. This is one way that people with initiative and skills acquired in office or community service can be used elsewhere in local government. It is also one way that local government expertise can be transferred into the civil society sector. Indeed, the direction of

transfer need not be from village leader to Tambon executive, but is also from village leader to civil society group. As one headman stated in relation to his future intentions:

“I am now holding phuyaiban (village leader) position and also in charge as civil society executive committee. Truly, I plan to work for civil society group 100% after I retire from phuyaiban position. It is going to be in the next couple years. (Interview, CS2, my translation)”

While the local community forestry group is the major institutional element in the civil society sector, local government and central representatives, Kamnun and Phuyaiban, are the leading political institutions in the public sector. Figure 5.1 sets out the features of the major actors and their organization’s involvement in the local network government. The following graphics show network governance at the community level by depiction of the different entities and connections between them.

Figure 5.1 Key actors in network based structure within the cross sectoral boundaries



Network Setting and Composition

Source: Author’s own work

Networking based on collaborative relationships between state agents and the community forestry group is particularly apparent in local environmental policy. There are two main aspects to consider on network setting. The first is the capacity of groups involved, which includes consideration of factors such as size, age or length of time the group has been in existence, and durability of resources. Secondly, the complexity of the local community has a bearing on the composition and cohesiveness of the network.

Institutional Capacity

The capacity of involved groups can be clearly illustrated by sector and institution. Three main factors can be used to investigate the capacity of state agency and civil society: unit size, time period of establishment and the resources of organization. The following table summarises the assessment of institutions' capacity.

Table 5.3 Basic Institutional Capacity Assessment in KKC case study

Basic Institutional Capacity Assessment			
Institutions	Size of unit	Establishment time	Institutional resources
State agencies	Smallest local government unit (TAO)	11 years	Limited resources
Civil society groups	Large organisation with a wide range of social networks	13 years	Various resources

Source: Author's own work

Institutional capacity is a major contributor to the effectiveness of 'good governance' strategies in local government. The capacity of local government in KKC's TAO is only moderate, in a ranking from 'high' to 'low'. According to the SWOT analysis of Khao Kok Tambon Administration Organisation, capacity in the areas of infrastructure and water management is high, however, the capacity for economic

development, social and public health service provision, education and culture, politics and administration, and environmental management is only moderate (Khao Kok Tambon Administration Organisation, 2009).

It is undeniable that governance in Khao Kok is constrained by the size of local government. To be effective, networks rely upon ‘executive’ direction as much as, if not more so than participation or popular deliberation. Community leaders in both sectors assume significant responsibility as they must. However, smallness brings benefits. It permits a high degree of informality, which, in turn, can facilitate collaboration and a collaborative *esprit de corps*. It allows the community leaders’ flexibility to create and maintain relationships within network arrangements that span civil society and state agents. As one leader of local government commented:

“... because our local government is small, so I (Local government Leader) can set informal meeting and discussion at the local government without any red tape process or getting the permission of bureaucratic function. ...I don’t know...maybe the small size reduced working steps and formal process.
(Interview, LG1, my translation)”

KKC’s TAO was established in the early 2000s and has developed from a naive and rudimentary organization into a modern public sector agency. Even so, like most local governments it has limited financial resources for infrastructure and personnel. The local government did adapt itself to improve efficiency and effectiveness, and did so by drawing upon the resources of the local community. Local government allocates project funding annually to the community forestry group, one demonstration of the value attached to community involvement in the work of government.

The community forestry group contributes capacity that can mobilize local resources, encourage participation and provide access to social networks. Because this group is viewed as being of the community and not external to it, leaders enjoy a closer ‘understanding’ with their community and have emotional commitments to community issues and concerns.

The Characteristics and Capacities of Civil Society Leaders

This section synthesises qualitative data from archival documents, in-depth interviews and participant observation to describe the role of two key protagonists, the chairman of the local community forestry group and the executive body of local government. The KKC case study suggests three major elements that determine the capacity of civil society group leaders and local government's executive committee. These elements are connectivity, resource management and knowledge management.

The Leaders of Civil Society Groups

As stated, the community forestry group is one of the main community networks in KKC. This group relies heavily upon the guidance of one leader who 'connects' the forestry group to the TAO and to outside actors – the public, business and third sector organizations. In addition to her role as 'connector', this leader's role involves knowledge sharing and decision making which together translate into significant informal authority. She recounted the story of how she developed her role and status, from 'ordinary' housewife to 'extraordinary' civil society leader.

“Initially, I lived my everyday life as the teacher's housewife. But I do love to gather with others, so I joined the community female working group and later I became the leader of the group. Amm... The changing point of my interest and concern is an increase of illegal logging by some business companies and deforestation for farmland took place. I noticed that our community forest was decreasing dramatically. I thought, I need to do something before getting late. Fortunately, I had got the funding from NGO to set the community forum to raise the community problem and then the community forest was set as the first priority. We decided to set the civil society group to work along and I was elected to be the headman.

(Interview and observation, CS1, my translation)”

Her efforts were validated with the Petroleum Authority of Thailand's (PTT) 6th Green Global Award in the individual category in 2004. The award turned the recipient into a local celebrity. The PTT's prestigious project was initiated in 1999 as

a tribute to His Majesty the King on the occasion of His 72nd Birthday, and with the involvement of qualified persons from various fields such as non-government organizations, conservation and academia. The PTT project aims to support and encourage environmental conservation by recognizing outstanding leadership and by disseminating lessons learned from these success stories to the wider public. Award winners thus become exemplars of environmental conservation and role models for their community and communities across Thailand. In this way, the PTT award confers a degree of cultural authority on award recipients which in turn empowers them in their respective communities. Hence the KKC civil society chairman is in effect also a catalyst for, or initiator of other projects well beyond the community forest of Khao Kok.

The second aspect is the leaders' responsibility to manage the flow of resources, where 'resources' refers to funding and materials. As might be expected, due to the environmental sustainability concerns, the community forestry group established by this leader has become a key partner for local government to work with, and as a result, this group has been granted several environmental management projects from state agencies, including the department of forestry, Khao Kok TAO, and corporations like Petroleum Authority of Thailand (PTT). Additionally, the sponsorship intervention from national, non-government organisations and academic institutions reinforced the connection between community groups and the community forest engaged with local government to conduct an action research project in relation to participation in local environmental management (Jarearnying, 2008). In this research, the leader of community group took on the role of head of the researcher team. Ultimately, this research project enhanced the collaboration within the networks of KKC.

Success in an award program can lead to substantial private resource transfers to a local community. The KKC community forestry project was selected as the pilot for PTT's forest guardian and sustainable community project. This recognition brought with it an office building, which also serves as a training centre, and also a paid secretary, meeting allowances, office equipment including computer, electric coolers,

and desks, tables and chairs. These are significant resources in a rural community such as KKC, and endorsement from outside, too, enhanced the status and legitimacy of the community leadership.

However, this success has placed the KKC community leader in a difficult position, not least because the new PTT facility was built in the grounds of her home. Security was the primary consideration for this choice of location, as equipment and furniture had to be guarded against theft. However, this has also delivered another level of responsibility and control to the community leader and her husband who oversee access to the building. As will be discussed further, this position of responsibility invites allegations of a conflict of interest (COI).

The research findings indicate also that the KKC community forestry group and other related community projects rely heavily upon the community leader's kinship networks. This again exposes her to COI allegations, given that money flows from the state into the community group from a number of environmental projects. For these reasons KKC civil society is governed by a committee which permits a degree of accountability and transparency but again, the committee is comprised of members of the leader's kinship network. To address these COI concerns the community leader stated her commitment to openness and accountability:

“Sincerely, I do not want to be seen as the mercenary person and I do not like others gossip me that I take the advantage from my leader position. So, we always set the group meeting for finding solution or before implement new activities. I believe that committee and members can check my performance from that. Accountability is very essential when we involved with money.
(Interview and observation, August CS3, my translation)”

It is evident that this community leader plays a pivotal role and that her social capital is in large part an enabling factor in community mobilisation. A third aspect to her role is knowledge management or knowledge sharing. In the KKC case study, this leader is the focal point of local knowledge sharing and learning. Using their PTT-funded facility, the KKC community can offer training programmes and connect with

a range of academic institutions such as Local Information Centre for Development (LICD) Nakhon Ratchasima Rajabhat University, LIFE Learning Institute for Everyone, The Thailand Research Fund and College of Social Management. Indeed, the leader of this civil society group has been selected, trained and educated through practice-based knowledge-sharing research projects managed by external entities. In this way, she has become a conduit for knowledge from outside the village, and a disseminator of this knowledge as a facilitator of training programs. She exemplifies the multiplier effect attributed to women's agency in development contexts.

It is also evident that this community leader can sustain and increase her knowledge through training courses, regular meetings, via sharing sessions and site visits. This is because she has the ability to learn and the self-motivation to improve her performance, even though she has a limited educational background. Ultimately, this civil society group has developed its social network to be a knowledge network that strengthens the social capital of the community.

Leaders in Executive Bodies of Local Government

In KKC it is undeniable that TAO plays a significant role in community governance and the formation of local networks. In fact one TAO executive committee member has taken on an important part as the person who opens policy windows for cooperation between the public sector and civil society in network arrangements and between local politicians and public servants. This TAO executive committee member enjoys a good level of status and fulfils a role in society that is sophisticated and multi-dimensional. Their administrative career exemplifies the background and community connections of people who sit astride the state and civil society sectors in rural Thailand. Describing his life journey, he states:

“I spent my adolescent and adulthood to be the monk. At that time I thought I would do the practices for the whole life, however, I resigned it later. I moved to be the traders hawking for many years. Then I decided to settle my life in my home village. I started my role in the community as the phuyaiban, in the meanwhile I was appointed to be the member of Tambon council by position according to the old TAOs

act. Well, after that I fell in love and have got married with other member of Tambon Council. She also held the position as the leader of the community forestry group. After I finished the phuyaiban term, I am still working for TAO but I change my position to executive committee which take a role as TAO leader secretary. At the same time, I am acting as the committee of community forestry group.

(Interview, LG2, my translation)”

Within the Thai cultural context respect is traditionally paid to elders and to people of ‘merit’ acquired through social contribution or, in the case of men, having spent time as a novice monk. In such ways the status of this executive committee in the local community is quite high. He is in the influential position and has the privileges associated with old age and high profile administrative role. He also coordinates or mediates between local and national politics. Moreover, adding to his educational attainment and social background, his personal ‘barami’ is further enhanced by his having spent time in the *sangha* as a monk.

In practice, he has exercised his power and authority through formal and informal means. Firstly, because of his social standing, he has the authority to negotiate with elected TAO presidents. The degree of social deference demonstrated by the TAO President was evident in one interview where the President exhibited clear outward signs of respect, in tone of voice for example, eye movements and body language in general. This style of engagement was evident, too, in the support by the TAO President’s secretary, who commented: “I helped him (TAO President) to win the recent election by canvassing within my network and getting support from my local residents. He (TAO President) knows that he cannot win without my support” (Interview, LG2, my translation). In return, he was appointed to be TAO President Secretary, with the benefit of a monthly allowance and a position on the executive committee at TAO.

The TAO President Secretary also held a position on the committee of the local civil society group. This is concrete evidence of cross sector membership between public and civil society sectors and the potential for influence in decision making across sectors. As a result, he has taken responsibility for coordinating action between TAO and the civil society group in policy process matters, in particular the policy making stage.

As he put it: “I have tried to link civil society group and TAO together. I think they have the same ultimate goal. All the activities and project is for villagers and community. Hand on the need and problem to TAO is something I can ... but it cannot guarantee that it is going to be done or resolve immediately” (Interview, CS2, my translation).

5.5 The Governing Process and Policy Cycle

The governing process of network arrangement in KKC was examined through the local environmental process. The process involves policy formulation, policy implementation and policy evaluation.

5.5.1 Participating Through the Policy Process

Having established the activism of policy actors in the public and civil society sectors in KKC, this section will discuss their roles in local policy processes. It will then examine local policy formulation with reference to processes and planning at the national level. The policy making process is conceived as an interactive process between different kinds of actors. Mutual dependence between local government and civil society groups is a necessary condition for the development and the maintenance of governance networks in KKC and, as will be explained in subsequent chapters, the level of mutual dependence in KKC is not replicated across Thailand.

Local policy Formulation – Process and Planning in Thailand

Scholars of Thai politics and society have noted that it is difficult to find strong evidence to support the view that the state is interested in the development of autonomous civil society organizations as partners in development. Indeed, it can be

argued that participatory development, outside the traditional community context, is culturally alien to Thai society. As discussed in Chapter 3, the traditional pattern of state-society relations in Thailand is heavily oriented to 'top-down' command processes. Often the state has acted against efforts to strengthen civil society, attempting to co-opt and control it. There is thus no concrete strategy to open up decision making processes to civil society groups. It should be noted that the state created regulations and guidelines to promote collaborative activities in policy arena. An example is the new regulation for establishing the community forum for more active participation. However, in KKC, civil society group initiated their own involvement, to forge a role for themselves as a potential partner, rather than being invited in to policy process.

The reforms have significantly altered village-level representation and roles. In the past the puhyaiban was the only person who NGOs and government officials contacted to implement their projects. As discussed in Chapter 4, the phuyaiban is the traditional political and administrative centre of the village community, and traditionally the point of contact between village and wider world. When a government agency wanted to implement a project they would go through the puhyaiban. He, in turn, would choose those to be employed as labour on that project, who would get paid to protect state forests from fire, where irrigation pipes would be laid, and which roads would be paved with bitumen. In this way the phuyaiban could use this patronage to build a power base, to resolve disputes and keep peace and order in a village. To secure influence from the central government has been a crucial role of a puhyaiban and it still is in most areas in this research. Not surprisingly, men with strong personal reputations carry titles of Puhyaiban or Kamnan.

Traditional Top-down Style of Public Administration in KKC

As discussed in Chapter 4, the democratic decentralization drive in Thailand at the community and provincial levels has not helped significantly in promoting participation at the grassroots. Decentralized functions and authority have remained captive to elites at each level down to local community elites. Their control at the local level has in fact been strengthened, negating the rhetoric of participatory

planning that has accompanied the devolution of central authority (Aghiros, 2002). Further, in the provinces village-based leaders who constitute the Tambon Administrative Organization (TAO), an extra-village putative participatory forum for grassroots development planning, has imbibed the official bureaucracy's hierarchical and non-participatory culture, making their roles as the lowest-level state agents who ought to promote community participation suspect.

Despite important differences already mentioned, Khao Kok community is no exception to the traditional style of leadership and administration that is so pervasive in Thailand. 'Top downism', tokenistic participation and outright exclusion of the grassroots groups characterize development project planning and implementation by local authorities. These attributes are evident in several critical aspects of planning, implementation and problem-solving in the project of waste separation. Firstly, major project decisions were made by the executive members of TAO with acknowledgment of the sub-stakeholder committee but without previous consultation and participation of direct stakeholders and affected people at the grassroots. The critical decisions were taken in a manner that was undoubtedly top-down and determined that the TAO and its committee to be the sole channel and conduit for popular involvement in environmental projects, prejudicing the chance of community people's meaningful participation and partnership with the municipal authority. Secondly, as a lower body agency, the community committee was marginalized in operational planning and decision-making during project implementation. If committee leaders and members were invited to municipal-level discussions and forums, they performed a passive role and their participation tokenistic. It was understood that their main duty was simply to carry out the policy and plans already decided upon in another meeting. Clearly, discussions and decision-making on particular components of implementation such as storage bins, collection of separated waste and budgeting were concluded in earlier, separate meetings exclusively attended by important staff personnel of various line offices (such as the Environmental Promotion sub-division, Public Relations Section and the staff of ICSC) and presided over by local government officials. Even as the authenticity of the community committees' substantive representative role was questionable due to its lack of autonomy, this lower-level body's somewhat tokenistic

inclusion in higher-level decision forums continued, as a distinctive legitimating procedure. Finally, the local authority and its partner operated on the basis of a strong pre-conceived notion that the local community people are essentially supportive of state-defined environmental projects. Low turn-out in mass orientation meetings and low rates of household involvement in actual community practice were automatically interpreted to be mere deficits of technical information and knowledge or certain weakness in operational details.

Participation and Collaborative Effort in KKC

According to the quantitative data, all questionnaire respondents were involved in the environmental policy cycle through at least one activity (which was a base requirement for including participants in the study). However, in order to assess the level of involvement of civil society members in policy formulation, it is first necessary to clarify their participation in other stages and levels of the policy process. The following Table, 5.4, shows the participation of civil society members in the environmental policy process in KKC.

Table 5.4 Participation of civil society associations in local environmental policy process

Policy process	Participation in policy cycle		
	Yes	No	Total
Policy formulation	17 (35.4%)	31 (64.6%)	48 (100%)
Policy implementation	48 (100%)	0 (0%)	48 (100%)
Policy Evaluation	4 (8.3%)	44 (91.7%)	48 (100%)

Source: Author's own work

The highest score was in policy implementation (100%), followed by policy formulation (35.4%) and policy evaluation (8.3%). Civil society members are involved in policy formulation stages through a variety of activities. However, they were faced with limited opportunities in the decision making due the influence of the traditional authoritarian style of government administration. As a result, to study the inclusion of civil society groups within official policy making requires qualitative data in order to understand the lived experience of participatory governance in KKC. This qualitative data will be discussed in the next section.

Another crucial issue in considering of participation of civil society in the policy cycle is the form the participation takes. In Khao Kok community, the participation was various. New strategies were trialed frequently. In practice, although citizens or members of the community sector could be involved at every stage, they engaged mostly at the ‘inform and consult’ end of the spectrum. This moderate form of participation clearly points to restricted empowerment and involvement. One interviewee noted: “We have community forum meeting for listening and discussion with citizens or representatives of community association about their needs and their problems” (Interview, LG6, my translation). This example implies a limited opportunity for citizens to participate due to the community forum functioning as space for agenda setting in policy formulation rather than enhancing the channels for participation in all aspects of the policy making process.

However, the level of participation within network arrangements has become stronger. The level of participation indicated in responses moved to ‘involve’ and ‘collaborate’ when the civil society group joined and worked with the local government projects according to the yearly development plan. The annual budget of TAO in KKC also allocated funding to civil society groups for supporting environmental projects. From the local government perspective, the civil society group members have been seen as a human resource in project implementation. As one participant said: “In the implementation process, we (civil society group) are normally work with local government in many projects such as bush fire protection

project, re-planting the community forestry project. We also received some funding from local government last year” (Interview, CS6, my translation).

Importantly, some participants argued that the effective way to participate in the policy process is to be the elected-member of Tambon Council, which was a limited opportunity as places were available on the citizen advisory committee. From their personal experience, one key informant clearly put it,

“My voice has never been heard until I became the member of Tambon Council. It is totally different between speaking and giving advice. This is because they incorporated with my suggestion. I thought I become somebody there. (Interview, CS1, my translation)”

Power and Authority in Local Politics

To better understand the changing political significance of civil society in KKC, one can look to the outcome of the local election in 2007. Previously, local politicians were mostly from a local business background, particularly from local real estate companies. They normally enjoyed and exploited good relations with political parties and political figures at national level. However, the TAO president elected in 2007 came from outside the local political-business elite. An ex-school teacher, he secured strong support from local community groups for his campaign. In winning this election the TAO president relied on the cooperation of election campaigners from the business and non-profit sectors. He later rewarded their cooperation with executive positions and provided budget support for community projects.

The community forestry group thus benefitted from a deliberate strategy to engage with policy formulation through both policy process and political process. In addition, they learnt to adapt their strategy from time to time. At the beginning, the chairman volunteered herself to participate in the Tambon council election. She succeeded and found that her voice, accepted as the legitimate and representative voice of her conservation group, was heard and endorsed but met with little official response (Interview, CS1, my translation). Next, the committee of the community forestry group, which also held the phuyaiban position, decided to support the recently elected

TAO president's team. The phuyaiban became a strong supporter of the soon-to-be-elected TAO president, who took action during the election campaign, canvassing with his personal network and the conservation group's network. He claimed: "Without the support from civil society group's alignments the TAO president would not have won the election. He had to have me on his side as a guarantee that the votes would certainly go to him" (Interview, CS3, my translation).

Further support came from ordinary village members and active members in the community sector. For instance, the community forestry group and local woman's group also played an important role. To show their support and loyalty to the community and group leader, they helped run the election campaigns even though they did not wholly support the recent TAO president – they at least recognised a potential strategic gain. Consequently, the power of the community leader in local politics remained after the election. It is obvious that the negotiating power of civil society group through their leader was higher than before the election due to the enhanced trust and reciprocity with the new TAO president.

The fragmentation of political power among wider circles of actors in KKC allows the conservation group to gain the benefits of engaging with networks of governance. The potential for civil society groups to exercise influence at the TAO level could be greatly enhanced elsewhere if this model of cooperation were replicated. In breaking down elite control through a new type of TAO president, who is neither a business person nor part of the political elite, more opportunities were created for the Third sector to network to influence local government. This is also one means by which conflicts of interest reduce, as the hegemony enjoyed by local business power-brokers declined, with immediate benefits for community projects like the KKC community forestry. In the past, TAO presidents were business owners who conflated private interest with community interest. This led to the privileging of business-oriented activities and infrastructure building at the expense of broader community priorities. Consequently, it is reasonable to conclude that governance in KKC has acquired additional democratic attributes, beyond formal electoral processes and the somewhat restricted formal public consultation.

However, even though the civil society groups are now increasing their power and inclusive access to policy, there is still limited room to exercise their power in the policy making process. In some cases, they can influence policy making by way of personal relationships. However, while they annually receive financial support from local government, institutional arrangements do not allow them to make final decisions on expenditure due to the tradition and formal regulation that are the basis to the TAO president's formal authority (Local Administrative Organizations Act, 2003, p.16).

From the observation data, the Media also play an important role in network formation in KKC. It involves community radio and television program. The voice of villagers and the significant of expression of opinion were channel through the public freely. The community forest group was using media to sending the message from the group in concern of community benefits. Especially it created the strange tie of village with open end conversation and simple and honest ideas about what really going on in the community. In contrast, public authorities mainly use local media for announcing their updated news and raising public awareness of community involvement. The media mostly been using as the communication channel to inform villagers on their own concerns. However, media could strengthen he collaboration between network actors across the sector when their successful join-up project has been broadcast on the television program as a shared ownership between them.

Local Perspectives on Democracy and Participation in KKC

The perceptions of local democracy held by local government staff and civil society members are quite different. Firstly, the local officials at TAO have strictly followed the instructions from the Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior. Policy and planning analysts were sent to Bangkok for the community development planning training course. The highlight of this short course was the embedding of community participation in preparation of local plans. Despite the restricted nature of the participation, the general perception of public participation in action is quite positive. Further, it is assumed by local respondents that increasing participation is the same as increasing democracy. As one respondent put it:

“The level of participation in community problem identifying process is very high. Many villagers came to the venue before time. They listened quietly and attentively. However, just a few people shared their problems and ideas. In addition, they mostly relied on their leader, phuyaiban and group leader who always express their ideas first.... Then others just wait until they received the signal from their leader to talk...frequently, the one who gave the opinion was the same person every time (Interview, LG5, my translation).”

From the point of view of civil society groups, when asked about local democracy, the most common responses focussed on local elections and to the absence of vote buying. There is still a strong relation between ‘democracy’ and ‘elections’ in Thai society. Additionally, respondents pointed out that participation and involvement are the key success factors in democratization at the local level. As one stated: “Involvement is very important. We now can help local government to develop our community. In the past, we just had no business with them. Local government always just carried on their job as they wanted to then inform us later” (Interview, CS6, my translation). Furthermore, the participation concerned more than just two parties, local government and a civil society group. School and temple are also connected to local democracy as alternative sources of social legitimacy and power and therefore as potential partners in network formation. As the community forestry group leader suggested: “We should include the temple and school every time when we think about participation for community developing. The local temple is the spiritual centre of the community and the school is the learning and knowledge source. I think they know where the problems are and we should listen to them” (Interview, CS1, my translation). As a result, the civil society group ensures it takes every opportunity to accept local government invitations.

It is undeniable that a ‘good’ policy is derived from a combination of the quality of policy processes and consideration of community interests. Indeed the latter is pre-requisite to the former. As one local government staff member commented, the best

way to achieve greater democratisation in the community is through direct participation. When the local government's capacity to enforce its will does not extend to substantial parts of a community, administrative efficiency and democracy is undermined. Although participation of civil society groups contributes to the quality of policy making by affording more information and insight, the evidence suggests that, the meaning of civil society participation in local governance is also closely related to political legitimacy and regulation. As a result, the ways and effects of this participation should be re-evaluated and reconstructed.

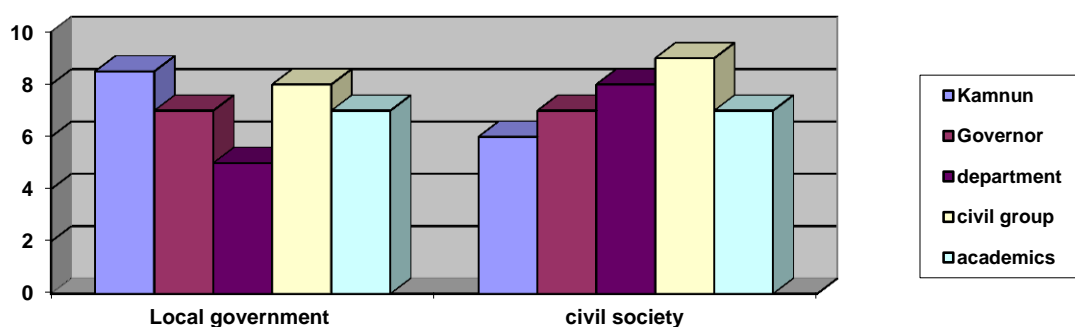
In order to improve the quality of their decisions, policy makers need more information about the real needs of the public and the community's problems. But, there seems to be some lingering prejudice towards local villagers with regard to educational attainment and their capacity to comprehend public policy. Elected policy makers in TAO obviously, because of their educational background, have certain capability limitations but this should not be used to limit their inclusion in decision making, they possess substantial 'local wisdom' that centrally appointed and 'outside' policy officials clearly lack. To obtain more-comprehensive information resources to improve the quality of decisions, civil society participation in public policy process is of undeniable value and assistance to makers, is undoubtedly help local decision-makers.

Communication Between Network Actors

In the questionnaire circulated for this case study, respondents were asked to report on the frequency of their contact with other people in different organizations on matters of local environment policy. Overall, the data from the interviews demonstrated that the respondents initially make contact and communicate in both formal and informal ways with institutions from the same sector. This finding from the interviews aligns with the survey data from questionnaire as presented in Figure 5.2. The status categories of respondents to the questionnaires were as follows:

- Kamnun – Chairman of community
- Phuyaiban – Head of village
- Governor
- An officer in the department of forestry
- An officer in the local government
- A member of a community associate
- A member of a voluntary community group
- An academic
- A member of a community association council

Figure 5.2 Communication between public sector and civil society group in KKC



Source: Author's own work

Trust in Network Governance Survey Results

Besides from the frequency of contact, respondents were also asked to state their level of trust for various actors in the local environment governance network. The level of trust can be normally measured by both quantitative and qualitative methods. In this research, trust between local government and civil society groups was assessed with a triangular technique by applying a scale of measurement to the survey. As discussed in chapter 3, the scale of level of trust measurement ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 represents a lack of trust and 5 represents complete Trust.

Level of Local Governments' Trust in Civil Society Groups: Descriptive Statistics

Table 5.5 shows overall that local government at Khao Kok District, Buriram province has is characterised by very high level of trust (Mean 4.38, SD 0.53) in civil society groups, namely Khao Kok Community Forestry group, and in three aspects of the policy circles. These are Problem identifying, Policy setting and formulation, and Policy implementation, for which the means are 4.50, 4.32 and 4.60 respectively. The standard deviations are equal to 0.45, 0.43 and 0.63 respectively. For the Information exchange and sharing process within network arrangement, the finding reported high levels of Trust (Mean 3.89, SD 0.62). Moreover, the difference between minimum and maximum scores is very narrow, with an average minimum score of 4 and a maximum of 5 on a scale of 1-5. The following Figure, 5.5 shows the level of trust of local government in civil society in the District.

Table 5.5 Trust level of local government in Padam forest conservation group in KKC

Item	Descriptive statistics			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max
How much do local government trust community forest group to cooperate in local environmental network arrangement?				
1. Problem identifying	4.50	0.45	4	5
2. Information exchange and sharing	3.89	0.62	3	5
3. Policy setting and formulation	4.32	0.43	4	5
4. Policy implementation	4.60	0.63	4	5
5. Overall in policy process	4.38	0.53	3	5

Source: Author's own work

Level of Civil Society Groups' Trust in Local Governments: Descriptive Statistics

As Table 5.6 indicates, respondents from Khao Kok community forestry group held very high levels of trust in local government in the local environmental policy process at Khao Kok district, Buriram province (Mean 4.59, SD 0.59), and across Problem identifying, Information exchange and sharing, Policy setting and formulation, and

Policy implementation (with means of 4.62, 4.73, 4.44 and 4.58 respectively. The standard deviations are 0.68, 0.51, 0.62 and 0.73 respectively.) The level of civil society group's trust in local government's information exchange and sharing processes is indicated by the mean of 4.73, with standard deviations equal to 0.51, or the highest level of Trust. Moreover, the difference between minimum and maximum scores is very narrow – an average minimum of 4 and maximum of 5 on a scale of 1 to 5.

Table 5.6 Trust level of the community forest group in local government in KKC

Item	Descriptive statistics			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max
How much do community forest group trust local government to cooperate in local environmental network arrangement?				
1. Problem identifying	4.62	0.68	4	5
2. Information exchange and sharing	4.73	0.51	4	5
3. Policy setting and formulation	4.44	0.62	4	5
4. Policy implementation	4.58	0.73	4	5
5. Overall in policy process	4.59	0.63	4	5

Source: Author's own work

The network members have begun to see other in a more positive light. The level of trust among actors in the network arrangement in KKC is high in general and very high between the local government and civil society groups. As one participant noted: “Our organisation [Local government] trusts the community forest groups very much. We are the good partner. We are very well cooperating. We also work well with Kamnun and Phuyaiban [central government representatives]” (Interview, LG8, my translation).

In KKC, there is more trust obviously demonstrated in individuals than in institutions. The local government officer described the leader of civil society group as a “key person of community development”. He stated: “We trust in her” (Interview, LG7, my translation). Similarly, the local government leader also paid respect to a civil society

leader. He saw her as “a serious and active person who works with pure heart and ready to roll up her sleeves” (Interview and observation, LG1, my translation).

In addition, it is clear that a factor contributing to the rise of the level of trust in other sectors is the acknowledgement of wider society. As a number of participants from local government underlined, an important factor in building trust lies in the dynamics of group engagement:

“We (local government) gave our attention to the program and project of civil society group. Their team work is so adorable. The majority of local residents trust in them, because of this, we are trust in them too. (Interview, LG4, my translation).

We build trust in each other by assessing results we gain. We also prove ourselves by empirical outputs. The more we receive trust from villagers, the more we earn trust from state agencies. (Interview, LG9, my translation)”.

5.5.2 The Governance of the KKC Network Arrangement

The products of governing are associated with efficiency and effectiveness in advancing policy outputs. This core assessment dimension follows the interpretation of New Public Management performance, that only effectiveness and efficiency count (Hatry, 1999). In this sense, the policy ‘product’ is very important in assessing the performance of collaborative network arrangements.

The production of performance data on the network arrangements in KKC began with vision setting. The communal vision arises from the local government and others, including citizens, civil society groups and central government representatives. The participants started to see a community vision as one of beneficial cooperation between state agencies and civil society groups. As one civil society group leader stated: “For long and hard working with the local government, at the end of the day, our ideas became the vision of the community and local government’s vision. It is the achievement of engagement indeed. (Interview, CS3, my translation).”

In addition, the process of policy formulation in KKC was dramatically transformed after the acceptance of good governance and network governance by state. The idea of political participation and networks has emerged clearly in policy decision making, and in ways that go well beyond the top-down approach. This was exemplified by responses from a number of the KKC participants:

“The local government’s policy in this day comes from the voice of citizen which reflects the community’s needs and problems. I would say, it is also comprised of the elected-executive’s policy. This two ingredient need to be well blend together. However, it should be much weight to the problems of community. (Interview, LG5, my translation)

The cooperative working among sectors led to the effective policy. The cooperation is the key of achievement, I think. This cooperation starts with every members see the problem through, then discuss and set the policy together. The process takes time and it requires to be patient. (Interview, LG2, my translation)”

In KKC, relationship changes among the local government, social organizations and local villagers has gradually transformed from a ‘black box’ model of decision making to a political or communicative space model. Local government reoriented from a pyramid ‘top-down’ approach to a nodal approach that fosters community partnerships. Generally, state relations with citizens, civil society groups and business organizations were good, this change has been regarded positively. Most of the actors in the network arrangement affirmed the benefits of collaboration amongst locals for locals. For one respondent:

“I think our relationship in network arrangement is a bit of struggle at beginning. However, after some time the relationship has improved to a good cooperation and later develops partnership. In my opinion, the quest of this partnership is still in the early stage. This cooperative relation now does not reach 100 percentage but it is a good start. We head to the right direction I think. We set and work together for our community. (Interview, LG4, my translation)”

State perception of local residents' capabilities also changed significantly. Villagers were recognized as part of the policy circle like never before. They were included in policy processes side by side with state agencies that saw civil society as an 'equal partner' in the network. This inclusiveness created more stakeholder engagements, and to the benefit of community governance processes. This is typified by the leader of civil society group:

"The relationship between our group and local government is going very well now. We cooperate in network arrangement without any problems....Well, if we look back in the past, we will realize our relation has come so far. We were just the outsider then...we are the poor who are uneducated. The local government own their power about decision making alone. Recently, our group is counted as a partner.

(Interview, C14, my translation)"

The social capital of Khao Kok community has played an important part in dealing effectively with the wider contexts of network formation. The immigrant people from Laos, Cambodia and other parts of Thailand have moved to this well-resourced area to start new lives. The social networks they have developed over more than half a century provide the crucial connections between and within these diverse groups of individuals. Ordinary residents have participated, they have reached out to exchange and share, and to develop their mutual interests.

From a social network perspective, civil society groups in Khao Kok community are a strong example of network formation. This is because the civil society group is mainly constructed around a common interest in environmental sustainability and kinship. At different points the civil society group has been questioned about an apparent 'the conflict of interest' between personal and family advantages and public interest arising from conservation of community forestry. This doubt has been removed by the community's performance.

5.6 Conclusion

The experience of the Khao Kok Community in relation to its changing mode of governance: There is a strong movement toward networking and collaboration. There has been a clear development from naïve to sophisticated practices over the past decade. The research data demonstrated the move away from the isolated, hierarchical local government model towards the horizontal network form of collaboration. The emergence of a local network arrangement may be classified as one of boundary spanning between the public sector and civil society. Such a network arrangement has shaped the governing process due to the hard work evident in negotiation and collaboration. The collaboration between key network participants has enabled the changing relationship between public authorities and civil society actors to generate ‘public solutions’ within their unique local context.

Chapter 6

The Practices of Klong Hoy Khong Community (KHKC)

6.1 Introduction

The chapter describes and discusses research findings from the Klong Hoy Khong Community (KHKC) case study, which is the second source of empirical data for this thesis. Klong Hoy Khong is situated in Songkhla province in southern Thailand. As with the preceding KKC case study, a thematic approach has been used to analyse and present research data obtained from questionnaires, in-depth interviews and participant participant observation. The chapter commences with a descriptive profile of KHKC It then presents participant information, including questionnaire responses and interview results. It describes the local economic, social, and political context relevant to the formation of an environmental governance network, the Pha Dam forest conservation group. The final section analyses the data and includes an exploration of network arrangement which covers both network formation and network performance. As in the KKC case, the level of trust in network arrangements and capacity in managing network arrangement are then addressed before concluding with an overview of the KHKC with regard to what the data contributes to understanding local governance.

6.2 KHKC Profile and its Environmental Concerns

- **Geography and Demography Background**

KHKC is a major rural *tambon*, or sub-distict in Klong Hoy Khong District previously part of the Hat Yai sub-district in Songkla province, which acquired recognition as a separate sub-district with the establishment of its own TAO in 1994. The population of KHKC is 5,263 people divided into 1,618 households, spread across 7 villages,, with an approximately equal gender division between male and female. Klong Hoy Khong sits on the mountainous border region between Thailand and Malaysia. The community spans the major rain forest of Mount Kalakeeree, wherein lies the

headwaters of the the main provincial river, Klong Au Thapaw, which is also the Community's principal source of freshwater and which debouches into the Songkhla Basin. . Additionally, "Pha Dum" waterfall in KHKC is a popular eco-tourist attraction, and a potential a source of supplementary income for the local community from eco-tourism. This rainforest area is also important for flood protection during the monsoon season. The ecological value of this environmental system is however threatened by the imperatives of national defence and economic development. A substantial area of the forest is allocated to the "Rattapol" Royal Thai Army Camp, and the Air Force Cadet School. The KHKC is also adjacent to Hat Yai International Airport, which is a main southern logistical hub connecting Thailand with the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle. Consequently, the community and its environment are impacted by the rollout of the national development and "sub-regional" cooperation priorities of the Thai government. In this regard, the policy direction of Bangkok politicians and government officials are far removed from the daily concerns of villagers in Klong Hoy Khong.

- **Society, Culture and Economy Background**

Owing to the mountainous geography of the region, the majority of the KHK population relies on rubber plantations and fruit orchards for their livelihoods. The total area under cultivation is 54,703 acres and, with a reliable natural water supply, agriculturalists are able to produce year round. Some residents have a secondary source of income, for example rearing livestock, or working as grocers or hawker food stall owners. Although most of the inhabitants are officially Thai-Buddhist, Thai-Muslim culture plays part in KHK community life. Cultural diversity is evident in religious practices and also in the diversity of language spoken. The language of government and education is central or Standard Thai, however, a distinctive Southern dialect, and a mixture of Thai-Malay languages, are common in everyday life. The prominence of Malay-Muslim culture is one consequence of the colonial era division of the Malay Peninsula between Britain and Thailand. Despite more than a century of state building, through centrally directed local administration and state education, many residents identify with their ancestral Malay heritage while accepting their official status as Thai citizens. some of the residents in this area are content to

hold two resident statuses of both Thai and Malay and follow their Thai line of ancestors.

According to Nartsupha and Chanikornpradit (1997), southern social structure at the community level is complex. This is evident in every community across Thailand that has been exposed to capitalism. While this economic valuation is not peculiar to southern Thailand, southern communities have distinctively higher levels of extended kinship relations within a single village, meaning that many village communities are actually large extended family units (p. 65). This is particularly important in assessing the ways in which community networks are formed because, in circumstances where kinship relations are dense, “civil society” can be synchronous with “family.”

- **Local Government and Administration**

The local government arrangements in the KHKC case are the same as in KKC –The structure of the TAO is the same as was described in the previous chapter and includes the Tambon Council (TAC) and the Tambon Administration Executive. Tambon Council members are elected representatives selected from each village, two people per village. As in KKC, civil society leaders have resorted to gaining election to the TAO in order to have an impact upon local government decision making.

- **The establishment of civil society association**

Pha Dam forest conservation group is an active civil society group and plays significant role in environmental policy arena at KHKC. This voluntary and community organization was founded in 1997 by a small group of former members of Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) who restyled themselves from revolutionaries to “Phupattanachattai” (nation developers) after the CPT’s demise (for more discussion of this period see chapter 4). From the observation data, group cohesion was aided by a deep level of trust and connectedness derived in large part from their shared experience in the CPT, sharing political ideals and ideology. However, this community group is also comprised of family or kinship networks.

The sustained relationship between the members can be seen as a strong sense of comradeship, emphasised by their continued identification with their former CPT identities, “Comrade (*sahai*).....” for example. For instance, they still call each other by their formal comrade names. So the foundations for this forest conservation group were laid well before it became active in environmental campaigning and eco-management. Shared experience of life in the maquis also heightened their appreciation of the natural environment, which afforded them both shelter and protection from the military. . Most importantly, the strong commitment and determination of this group towards social justice and anti-corruption have driven them to continue as volunteers in search of better village’s livelihood without waiting for government actions. As one member put it,

“I nearly lost my life during the flight when I was a member of CPT. I think my life is now a profit, so, I devote the rest of my life to work for our forest and people (Interview, CS4, my translation).”

The establishment of Pha Dam forest conservation group can be traced to the same funding from non-organizations under the so-called Thai Social Investment Fund (SIF) -sponsored forum at which it was determined there was a need to tackle deforestation, with one possible strategy being the formation of a radical voluntary group to address the issue.. With little in the way of money and facilities but with substantial commitment from initially 20 members, the group built an organizational foundation to protect and conserve Pha Dam rainforest – with human and political capital. Forest conservation activities echo the shared CPT past, with group members engaging in forest patrols to “police” forest usage, and spreading conservation awareness in place of communist ideology. Membership was and remains diverse, incorporating people with different occupational backgrounds and social status including teachers, business people and local journalists. The group has grown rapidly grown to now 157 people today?. However, the core members of this group are facing limitations as all members have other daily work. In addition, the budget is restrict and unstable. Recently, an annual folk concert was hold as the main source of their financial income. The group also receives donations in kind including money and consumer goods such as rice, food supply and petroleum oil. This is one more

example of endogenous community group or network formation that corresponds with and complements the alternative development paradigm of sustainability preferred by civil society associations in Thailand.

6.3 Data Generation

Research Participants

The demographic characteristics of the participants from KHKC who contributed to the data generation of this research are summarised in the following two tables. The first table shows the questionnaire respondents and the second shows the interview participants. The first group of participants who formed the questionnaire survey sample consisted of 51 respondents from state agencies' staff and members of Pha Dam forest conservation group in KHKC.

Table 6.1 Questionnaire Respondents Demographics in KHKC case study

Sector	Gender	Position in Organization	Membership Period
State Agencies n = 14	Male	Executive 28.6%	< 1 year 28.4%
	Female	Member 71.4%	1-5 years 61.3%
			> 5 years 20.3%
Civil Society n = 37	Male	Executive 24.3%	< 1 year 17.2%
	Female	Member 75.7%	1-5 years 11.3%
			> 5 years 72.5%

Source: Author's own work

As the research data indicates, the majority of state agencies officers were associated with the operations level in the organization (71.4%, n=10) and only 28.6% occupied an executive position. In this regard the sample was very similar in profile for the Pha Dam forest conservation group. More than three quarters of them (75.7%) worked and functioned in member positions and only 24.3% occupied executive positions. On

average, state agencies staff indicated that they worked more than a year in their organization. The majority of participants from Pha Dam forest conservation group had joined the group more than five years previously (72.5%). Interestingly, the gender of the demographic data for questionnaire respondents from Pha Dam forest conservation group section showed that all the people who answered were male (100%).

The second group of participants consists informants nominated to be interviewed by the questionnaire participants. Using a snowball technique to set the interview list, ten interviewees were selected for interview from each of the state agency officer group and the Padam forest conservation group members. Table 6.2 offers the interview participants demographics as following.

Table 6.2 Interview Participants Demographics in KHKC case study

Sector	Gender		Position in Organization		Membership Period	
State Agencies n = 10	Male	100.0%	Executive	40.0%	< 1 year	0.0%
	Female	0.0%	Member	60.0%	1-5 years	40.0%
					> 5 years	60.0%
Civil Society n = 10	Male	100.0%	Executive	70.0%	< 1 year	0.0%
	Female	0.0%	Member	30.0%	1-5 years	30.0%
					> 5 years	70.0%

Source: Author's own work

The respondent profile is clearly divided into two groups distributed by the membership of organization, state agencies and Pha Dam forest conservation group. All the state agency officer participants were male (100.0%). More than a half (60%) had worked as operation staff at the TAO and 40% held an executive position at local state agencies. About 60% of interviewees had worked for more than 5 years and the rest had worked for 1-5 years (40%). Similar to the state agency data and in keeping with the initial questionnaire group profile all the interview participants from Pha Dam forest conservation group were also male. In contrast to the state agency

situation early three quarters of them held the executive position (70%) and the rest were the operation members. The time range that interviewees joined Pha Dam forest conservation group was more than 5 year (70%) and none of them were new members.

6.4 Formation of Network Arrangement

Local governance in relation to network arrangements and participation in KHKC reflect a number of circumstances at the local level including the effects of local government reforms implemented in the 1990s in response to the World Bank's campaign to promote "good governance" at the local level (see further discussion in chapter 4). The engagement of civil society associations can foster the process of local governance and it provides an opportunity for 'public' or local citizens to participate more actively in policy development process. In the case of KHKC, the creation of network arrangements between local government and Pha Dam Association was influenced by locally specific conditions quite different to those which obtained at KKC. The following section then will investigate the context of KHKC in Songkhla province.

6.4.1 The Contextual Influences

The social environment of KHKC can be described in terms of patterns of social relationships among villagers by bond and seniority. In Thai society, as discussed earlier, a kinship system strongly ties the local residents in the community together with a relatively tight spider web of relationships. In fact, relatives are regarded as a priority category of people that ranks above other relationships, "blood is thicker than water" aptly captures this point. KHKC thus conforms to the general observation made above about the added significance of family connections in southern Thai village communities. However, the social landscape of KHK has been changed significantly by inward-migration and ideological conflict which remains a legacy issue dating from the CPT insurgency. CPT members migrated into concealed forest camps in the area of KHKC and, when the insurgency subsided, some decided to settle down in the area. In addition, many people from other provinces who migrated

to KHKC to take advantage of the area's rich natural resources, especially the rainforest areas and rivers. This led to the settlement of an illegal village in the forest and the residents in this village used the trees for living. Therefore, the current social structure of KHKC is a combination between the new immigrating families in the forest and remaining of old local families which is the most influential and prominent feature.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the regard for junior-senior relationships is another important social characteristic in Thai, it is the common condition in KHKC. Indeed, seniority plays an important part in relationships and behaviour among both relatives and non-relatives. In family relationships the senior members need to act and take responsibility as patrons, while junior members need to pay respect and obey their seniors. Thai society as a whole perceives elderly people as mature people who have deep experience and worldly knowledge. Consequently, old villagers normally receive respect and obedience from the younger ones.

Driving Force for Collaboration

The network arrangement in KHKC community was a response to local problem-solving imperatives. This was driven particularly by the public sector to demonstrate that good governance principles were being applied. Later, the local community combining with the Pha Dam group's leadership pressed for local government action to address their environmental concerns. Thus, on one hand, the state agencies needed to be adaptive under the new public sector reforms that prioritised community participation, on paper at least. Stakeholders were thus recruited to create and develop network arrangements to increase formal participation in decision making at the local level. The network form of partnership between local government and the Pha Dam forest conservation group is held up as an exemplar of the effectiveness of this local government response. As one official staff at TAO respondent from KHKC indicated:

“Recently, the leader of local government cannot ignore the concept of partnership. Of course, local government cannot work alone to solve the problem anymore. The stakeholders from other sectors especially public or social sector need to be involved. The participation is

something that comes to be very important. The local government need to work with community. It also needs to promote and encourage villagers to participate in local development. The local government is now open the door for local resident to take part as a partner for community development (Interview, LG5, my translation).”

The need for political participation in local administration was also confirmed by one/another/a different local government leader, TAO Chairman. The positive attitude of local government leaders on network formation shows a welcoming and supportive attitude to formulating network arrangement between local government and the Pha Dam forest conservation group. As the chairman of TAO in KHKC put it:

“The new regulation on participation in local planning is a very good idea. Our policy and planning should come from the local resident’s needs. If they can participate in the process, the local government will get the ideas about the real problem in community. About deforestation problem, we know that we cannot tackle it alone. Luckily, we have Pha Dam forest conservation group which work on that problem. We support each other.... Yes, we work as a team. Personally, I know them well. We are local. We love our home...our community. So, we work hard to keep our forest. (Interview, LG1, my translation).”

On the other hand, the Pha Dam forest conservation group members were keen to express their ideas and concerns about the problem of environmental sustainability in the community. People pressure to push the local government and local forest department officials to limit logging, and address extensive illegal logging,. Evidence gathering through forest patrols and public deliberation at open community forums failed to attract a positive governmental response. Even explicit photographic evidence was insufficiently persuasive. The problem of illegal logging proved to complex and politically sensitive to be addressed at the local government level, because, it was suspected, logging interests were politically well connected and hence wielded substantial informal influence. This problem is share similarity of confronting

between community and business throughout Thailand, including previous case study of KKC. In order to get involve in local problem solving the leader of Pha Dam forest conservation group decided to join the local election for Tambon Council. At the end of the day, he won the local election as a representative of villagers in Tambon Council and later he was elected as a chairman of Tambon Council. This strategy was explained thus.

“Our group (Padum group) had been trying to get attention from local government in many ways on environmental problem especially deforestation problem. We participate and express our opinions through community forum but it did not work. When local government did not care much on forest conservation, we did it by our own team. However, we are voluntary group without financial assistance. As a result, we need to get support including money from local government. Good on us as I finally became a part of Tambon council, then we gain our voice from that position. (Interview, CS1, my translation)).”

6.4.2 The presence of Network Arrangements and Key Actors

To better understand the structure and characteristic of the local network arrangement in KHKC, we need to identify the key actors in the new mode of network governance. Due to the limitations on the scope of this research which is focused on the public sector and the voluntary or non-profit sector at community level, the key players are situated among Pha Dam forest conservation group members, state agency staff and officials in the local TAO. Three key actors were identified from a combination of data sources including: qualitative data from the documents such as the TAO's minutes and the TAO's long term strategic planning documents, in-depth interviews with local politicians, bureaucrats, and a local community leader, and notes from non-participative observation. The three key actors in the local network arrangement were: the leader and assistant secretary of the civil society association, and the chairman of local government. The KHKC case study suggests three major elements that determined the important characteristics and capacity of Pha Dam forest conservation group leaders and local government's executive committee as significant local

network governance actors. These elements are connectivity, resource management and knowledge management.

The leaders of civil society group

The leader of the Pha Dam forest conservation group is the first key actor in the local network arrangement in KHKC. He had held the leader position in the group since the beginning of the group in 1997. When the first meeting of the group was conducted a variety of people took part and actively discussed the establishment of a community group that could tackle issues concerning the rain forest and the Pha Dam waterfall. The current leader was the facilitator of that first meeting. He states,

“In that meeting, I could not make everyone agree on the solutions because sometimes it is hard to make the ordinary villager understand and accept the complex ideas from some experts. However, I managed that meeting based on honesty which led to the agreement on the direction not on a particular idea. (Interview, CS1, my translation)”

Faithful and honest communication became the fundamental norm of the Pha Dam forest conservation group's communications. So when a negative situation occurred the leader drew the bottom-line at complete honesty. This rule also applied to the communicative process between Pha Dam forest conservative group and the local government network arrangement. The leader of the group then took an important role in sustaining the connection of the group and collaboratively worked with local government based on honesty. Honesty as his core personal value led him to win the local election and he held the tambon council member position. This led him to strengthen his leadership capacity as he became more familiar with administrative systems and policy processes.

The second key actor in the network arrangement was a local media journalist working for the local newspaper and radio station. He joined the Pha Dam forest conservation group more than 5 years previously. His role and responsibility in the Pha Dam forest conservation group was as the assistant secretary. As a result of

career as a professional journalist, he had very high communication skills. He was the ‘messenger’ who expressed and communicated the ideas and opinions of the Pha Dam forest conservation group using the media as the active channels. He was also acting as a ‘connector’ or ‘stimulator’ by connecting the public sector and the Pha Dam forest conservation group through the community forum which sometimes required active communication to kick start it. He fulfilled the role of the representative of Pha Dam forest conservation group to collaborate with local government in several events including committee meetings and the raising of awareness on local environmental issue campaigns. His positive attitude toward collaboration with local government kept the Pha Dam forest conservation group positive about working together even during times of conflict and doubt in the participation agenda. Because of the importance of media as a channel for expressing citizen voice, this network actor provided the opportunity and ‘policy area’ for villagers to express their needs and concerns toward local affairs during problem identifying processes of policy development. His family background reveals his motivation and his decision to join the Pha Dam forest conservation group. He states

“I came from a middle class family. My father was a village headman who had been practicing meditation and been a monk for many years. My mother was a teacher. She is so kind and always taught me to be a good person...never cheat.. never be selfish...My dad liked to help other people. He loved to volunteer and passed me the volunteer spirit. When my father went for work with the community, he always took me with him. So in my idea community development needs to come from the volunteer heart” (Interview, CS3, my translation)”.

The third key actor of the network arrangement was the tambon executive chairman. He played a significant role in implementing the ideas of ‘good governance’ as a new way of working in local affairs. He was strongly influenced by the capacity training provided by the Ministry of Interior. He strongly supported the ideas of participation between the public sector and the community sector. The existing leader of local government developed his career as the elected local politician from his long term previous position of being the central government representative as village headman.

The leader's vision was the most effective feature in facilitating participation and forming the network arrangement in KHKC. This vision is reflected in the TAO leader attitude as he states:

“I used to occupy the village headman position before becoming the TAO chairman. I had been working as the central representative for around 11 years. I found out that to have an impact and help resolve the problem in the village I needed to join the local election and become a part of the TAO. You know..... I believe that to get a community solution, we need to listen to the peoplefrom the community...and we need them to get involved in that process of finding the way to tackle the problem. Working together is a good strategy to apply. (Interview, LG1, my translation)”.

Network Setting and Composition

Networking based on collaborative relationships between state agencies and Pha Dam forest conservation group occurred in relation to particular issues on environmental policy in KHKC. There are two main aspects to consider on network setting. The first prospect is the capacity of the organization which can be interpreted through the organisational size, the age of the establishment and organizational resources. Secondly, the complexity of the community is an important determinant on the composition of the network. These two factors are addressed in the next two sections.

Institutional Capacity

The capacity of the institutions and organisations involved in the network arrangement can be considered separately for each of the sectors. There are three main factors that can be used to investigate the capacity of state agency and civil society which consist of the unit size, time period of establishment and the resources of organization. The following table summarizes the assessment of institutional capacity (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Basic Institutional Capacity Assessment in KHKC

Institutional	Institutional Capacity Assessment		
	Size of unit	Establishment time	Institutional resources
Public Sector	Medium local government unit (TAO)	16 years	Limited resources
Civil society	Large group with social network	13 years	Limited resources

Source: Author's own work

Institutional capacity is a main indicator to the effectiveness of “good governance” strategies in local government. The capacity of local government in KHKC is only moderate. According to the SWOT analysis report of Klong Hoy Khong Tambon Administration Organisation, capacity in the areas of infrastructure and water management is high, however, the capacity for economic development, social and public health services, education and culture, politics and administration, and environmental management, are moderate to high level. As a result, this local government has capacity to provide a good public service at the community level (Klong Hoy Khong Tambon Administration Organisation, 2009). Local governance in Klong Hoy Khong is controlled by the size of local government and is directly related to the fiscal budget which is supported by central government. The medium size of KHKC permits a high degree of formality which in turn helps to facilitate collaboration and a collaborative spirit. This is because it aware the leader of the organization has flexibility to create and maintain relationships within the partnership.

The TAO of KHKC was established nearly two decades ago. Since then it has developed from being an inexperienced and undeveloped organization into a modern public sector agency which creates more political space for other sectors. However, like most local governments it has limited financial resources for infrastructure and limited human resources.

Local government allocates funding to the Pha Dam forest conservation group annually which is a demonstration of the value attached to community involvement in the work of government. However, it should be noted that the membership status of key actors has been changed from one sector to another sector from time to time. For instance, the leader of Pha Dam association also holds the chairman position at Tambon council. This is one example whereby a villager with initiative and skills acquired from office or community service can develop to be involved and directly participate in local government affairs. It also illustrates a way that local government expertise can be opened to public and civil society sector in terms of direct democracy. As a result, the key players in local policy arena in KHKC changed their role and status through local politics and election.

6.5 The Governing Process and Policy Cycle

All of the questionnaire respondents were involved in the environmental policy cycle for at least one activity as the basic requirement of being a participant in this study. However, in order to assess the level of involvement of Pha Dam forest conservation group members in policy formulation process it is first necessary to compare participation in other stages of the policy process in order to get insight into the participation to environmental policy process at a local level. In the following, table 6.4 shows the participation of Pha Dam group members in policy process in KHKC.

Table 6.4: Civil Society Participation in local environmental policy process

Policy process	Participation in policy cycle		
	Yes	No	Total
Policy formulation	21 (56.8%)	16 (43.2%)	37 (100%)
Policy implementation	14 (37.8%)	23 (62.2%)	37 (100%)
Policy Evaluation	3 (8.0%)	34 (92.0%)	37 (100%)

Source: Author's own work

The highest score is noted for the policy formulation (56.8%), followed by then policy implementation (37.8%) and policy evaluation (8.0%) respectively. In more detail, Pha Dam forest conservation group members were involved in policy formulation stage in a variety of activities such as agenda setting and policy making process. However, they were faced with limited opportunities in the actual decision making process due the traditional authoritarian style at local level. As a result, the inclusion of Pha Dam forest conservation group within policy making required additional qualitative data in order to understand the reality of participative governance in KHK community.

Interestingly, some participants argued that the most effective way to participate in policy process is to be an elected-member of the Tambon council which has a limited number of places for a citizen advisory committee. This strategy was a shortcut to upgrade the level of political participation in decision making process. From their personal experience, one key informant from Pha Dam forest group clearly put it,

“My voice has never been heard until I became the member of Tambon council. It is total different between speaking and giving advice. This is because they incorporated with my suggestion. I thought I become somebody there (Interview, CS4, my translation)”.

The relationship between multiple stakeholders in network arrangements at KHKC (KHKC) was seen quite differently by the state agencies who viewed community members and groups as “equal partners” who contribute to the creation of participatory governance together (Interview, CS4, my translation). An elected local government executive identified the relationship development in the network thus,

“We have worked together in form of partnership since the emergence of the network. The local government continuously encourages citizens and others like Pha Dam forest groups and business companies to participate with us. I think we succeed to do so. Actually, we started from scratch. It was hard to get cooperation and participation from communities at first. Today, we work together as a team. It is very

good. The local government cannot tackle the problem alone. We need hands (Interview, LG2, my translation)”

It was clear that local decision-making involves a series of related policies moderated by the elements of management, including technical constraints, rules, and budget constraints. There were some limits on the quality of Pha Dam forest conservation group participation. But on the other hand, in order to improve the quality of decisions, policy makers needed more information about the real needs of the public and community problems. To obtain a more comprehensive search of the information resources in order to improve the quality of decisions, civil society participation in public policy process, through various ways to deal directly with decision makers, would undoubtedly help local decision-makers by sharing their local wisdom and knowledge.

6.5.1 Participating Through the Policy Process in KHKC

In KHKC, the participatory form in the network arrangement began the same way as the KKC case. There was only one public meeting a year in this network at the grassroots level. The forms of participation in this community meeting were “inform” and “consult” which is participation at a weak level and suggests a traditional top-down mode of policy formulation and implementation. The situation was identified as a “instant participation” (Interview, CS2, my translation). As one member of Pha Dam forest conservation group highlighted the meeting process,

“The community forum meeting was interesting at the beginning. Many people from various groups or organisation express their ideas and comments. I also gave them some opinions. They (local government) kept listen to us about the community problem. However, they were just only listening not follow up or take any action at all. (Interview, CS4, my translation)”.

A number of Pha Dam forest conservation group members alleged that state agencies have been dishonest in their dealings and described local participation as “political show” (Interview, CS2, my translation). The need to rebuild relations is highlighted by one respondent from the social sector part. This was expressed by one participant,

“This is the time that we need to accept the truth about our poor relationships in the network. We need to face one another with more respect and trust. The government agencies have to be sincere and honest with their partners rather than pretended that they were listening and taking our advice and opinion. They need to do it and do it now (Interview, CS3, my translation)”.

This form of community consultation is quite common. Consultation of this kind is a form of “risk management” a common strategy in project implementation where stakeholders are engaged as a way to gain their support for decisions already taken.

In KHKC, in order to gain greater real participation, the leader of the Pha Dam forest conservation group joined the Tambon council by standing for election. He then became the chairman of the council. He described himself as a “link” between local government and Pha Dam forest conservation group in the network arrangement (Interview, CS1, my translation). At that point, the public authority also saw him as “the representative of Pha Dam forest conservation group” (Interview, LG2, my translation) at the participatory decision making process. However, the “link” or “the representative” sometimes saw himself as an independent voice (Interview, CS 2 and LG2, my translation). Participation could, therefore, be strengthened by changing the perception on the position of Pha Dam forest conservation group representatives in the network arrangement.

Power and authority in local politics: The state agencies and local government

In KHKC, public authorities normally work independently from each other as designed administrative system of central, regional and local body of administration. This lack of formal connection between the local governments and the Forest Department creates an institutional problem. No strong coordination between the two levels was found. The main reason for this weak link is that the forestry area was among those few policy responsibilities not transferred to local TAOs and *tambon councils*. The Regional and Provincial Forest Department is the main actor with regard to forestry management in this case study. Due to the distinction between provincial administration and local government, one need to be clear that the role and responsibly are different in term of intergovernmental relationship. The offices of the regional and provincial agencies do not have any formal interaction with the local governments except on orders from the governor. Good relations between the two important sectors develop only when a member of the local TAO has a personal connection with the state agencies. The leader of the local government complained that the Forest Department never ever consulted them in regard to forestry matters and they seemed to always try and keep a distance from local governments. They try to declare that forestry issues are professional affairs. One of interviewees who was an elected member of the TAO describes the deficit of confidence and trust between the Forest Department and the local government state,

“The forest officer thinks himself as a bigger person and never listens to us. He used to say that you (the member of Tambon council) are the councillor only for a limited period and then after new local election the new councillor will come, on the other hand he (the forest officer) is a permanent government servant (Interview, CS1, my translation).”

In addition, the TAO Chairman of the local government also confirmed,

“We invited the provincial forest officer many times to come and join our regular meetings. We also requested him to listen to our demands, but he never came. We have been told that they are political people like us. If the forests are handed over to them then they will allow ruthless cutting just to please the voter (Interview, CS4, my translation)”.

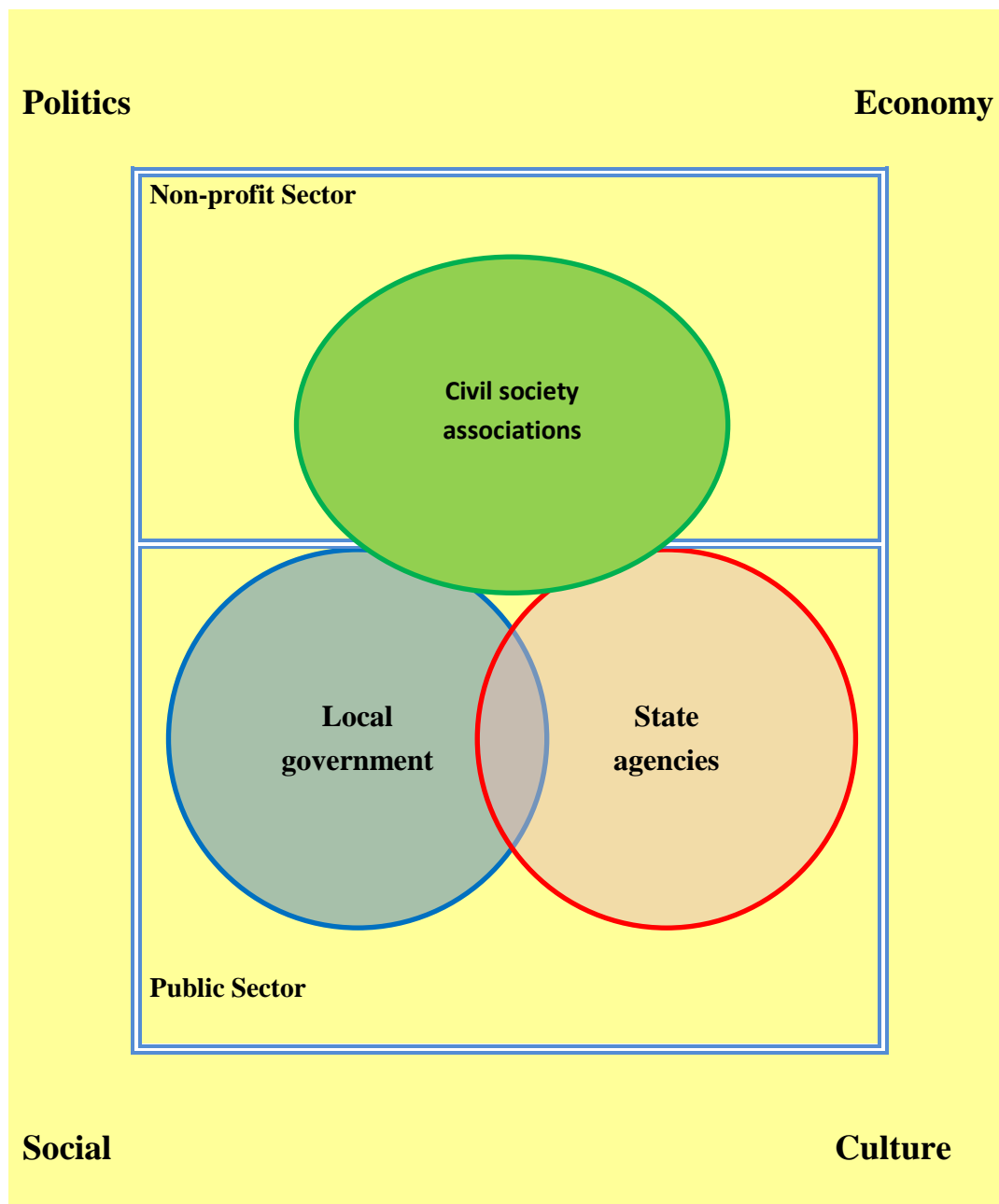
This statement indicates the existing lack of trust and communication among public authorities working at the regional department of forestry and local government.

The connection between the sectors

Although the boundaries of the sectors were blurred the focused key network “partners” in KHKC could still be divided into two sectors, governmental sector and non-profit sector. The governmental sector is defined here as local government body and state agencies, central representatives like *kamnan* and *phuyaiban*. The Pha Dam forest conservation group is the major institutional basic of non-profit sector and local government and state agencies are the political institutions in public sector. Mutual dependence between the state agencies, local government and civil society associations is a necessary condition for the development and the maintenance of governance networks.

Figure 6.1 points out the feature of the major actors and their organization’s involvement in local network arrangement. In more detail, the non-profit sector is shown to overlap with the local government and the state agencies node and vice versa to different degrees. This conceptualization acknowledges and reflects the real existence of links and connections between the different sectors. The following graphic also describes network governance at the community level by portraying the different entities and inter-relationships of the key actors. It portrays the degree of boundary spanning between the public sector and civil society resulting from the connection between individual actors. It reveals the changing nature of the local administration which was previously not as inclusive.

Figure 6.1: The illustration of cross-sectoral boundary spanning in network arrangement in KHKC



Source: Author's own work

Local perspectives on democracy and participation in KKC

The perception of local government staff and Pha Dam forest conservation group members on local democracy were quite different based on their different personal experiences. The local officials at the TAO strictly followed the instructions from Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior. Policy and planning analyst staff from around the country were sent to take a community development planning training course in Bangkok. The highlight of this short course was the preparation of local planning by paying attention to public participation. Participation was positioned as the main issue of local government planning. The central government's Ministry of Interior was very positive and supportive with regard to public participation. They believed that increasing participation was the key tool to increasing democracy.

Communication between network actors

Informal communication was the main form of communication for contact between local government and other sectors including civil society, central government representatives, *kamnan* and *phuyaiban* in KHKC (KHKC). The connection by telephone played a central role but the contact frequency in this network arrangement depended on the issue at hand and could not be classified as regular and sustained. As one member of Pha Dam forest conservation group said, "We normally communicate with local government via telephone. It is kind of informal conversation" (Interview, CS7, my translation). This implies very loose arrangements through such communication channels. The questionnaire asked about the frequency of communication and how frequently they had made personal contact with other people in a different organization regarding the local environment policy. The results of the questionnaire supported the idea that communication was infrequent and often informal.

Trust in Network Governance: Survey Results

The situation about trust in KHKC (KHKC) was different from Khao Khok Community (KKC), especially the trust between the public authorities and Pha Dam forest conservation group members. The overall level of trust in KHKC was only average at best. The sensitive point was the overlapping membership of central

government representatives, *kamnan* and *phuyaiban*. They were also involved in the timber business. Indeed, they were described as “the opposite” (Interview, CS2, my translation), in that were seen as “stakeholders who questionably had a conflict of interest (Interview, CS2, my translation)”. In the southern context, it is common to question such conflicts of interest and that questioning impacts on the level of trust between public sector and civil society. In another response, one KHKC participant said, “Trust in them? (central government representatives, *kamnan* and *phuyaiban*)...Amm...I can give you only one clear answer is no. (Interview, CS6, my translation)”.

Although the level of trust could be assessed directly by open-ended questioning, the answers often focused on “the value of honesty”. It was very common for a number of respondents to link “trust” and “honesty”. The level of trust operated in parallel with perception of the level of honesty. This was evident from many participants, for example,

“The public authorities do not show me a deal of fairness and I think they have less honesty because they always have hidden agenda. In resolving the environmental problem it needs honesty. I don’t trust them at all” (Interview, CS5, my translation).”

It was evident that this mistrust had increased rapidly within the context of the current situation of environmental concern. However, it was also evident that trust in state representatives had eroded over a much longer time frame.

In contrast, from a local government perspective, the level of trust in Pha Dam forest conservation group was quite high. They saw the members of the civil society group as “very active people who dedicated their lives for the environment and community (Interview, LG2, my translation).” This qualitative impression was supported by the quantitative survey which used a scale of 1-5 where 1 represents a lack of trust and 5 represents complete Trust. The level of trust in the Pha Dam forest group shown by the local government in the local environmental network arrangements at the KHKC are presented as the following in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Level of local governments' trust in Pha Dam forest conservation groups in local environmental network arrangement in KHKC

Item	<u>Descriptive statistics</u>			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max
How much do local government trust civil society group to cooperate in local environmental network arrangement?				
1. Problem identifying	3.76	0.87	3	5
2. Information exchange and sharing	3.89	0.62	3	5
3. Policy setting and formulation	3.25	0.94	3	5
4. Policy implementation	4.41	0.22	4	5
5. Overall in policy process	3.83	0.38	3	5

Source: Author's own work

6.5.2 The Governance of the KKC Network Arrangement

In the case of KHKC, the performance of the network arrangement is indistinct. This is because the government officials' idea of the place of community in local government policy and practice is determined by traditional state-centric and hierarchical modes of thinking. There is thus a fundamental disagreement between local authorities and the local community over how KHKC should be governed. Consequently, the outputs from the local environmental governance network diverged from local government policy. As one of key informant said with regard to civil society-state deliberation,

“We have only one community meeting with representative from TAO. The meeting is short. We have big argument about local environmental policy setting. At last, the conclusion is unclear. Then, vision and policy are also unclear. I think, vision is the empirical object that illustrated the problem awareness and it will point out the policy direction. I also truly believe that the origin of policy is “voice” of people that reflects the demand from the grassroots (Interview, CS4, my translation)”.

However, one public authority at TAO argued,

“We try to encourage the local residents and community groups like Pha Dam forest conservation group to join the policy setting meeting. We have intention to promote the public participation. However, some are only concerned about their interests without understanding of policy concept. Well, sometime it hard to compromise the needs and interest of different groups. Indeed, our local environmental policy needs to cooperate with region offices such as provincial and district administrative offices. It is over our control. It is hard to finish everything in only one day (Interview, LG3, my translation)”.

As a result, it can be seen that individual needs and interests from the various agents in the network arrangement require high management skills to produce effective policy outputs. This is expressed by the chairman of TAO,

“Honestly, I graduated just primary school, then alternative high school. It is very difficult to handle the complex management. However, I try my best. I try so hard. Sometime I realise that I cannot do much (Interview, LG1, my translation)”

The data point to the significant link of educational background and managerial capacity and the way it determines the limited skill to manage the network arrangement. Evidently, the capacity of local government officials and community representatives is not sufficiently developed to cope with the socio-political dimensions of governance. Indeed, governance is regarded by state agents as a question of “management” more so that engagement through trust and confidence building. In this regard KHKC confirms the inadequacy of the central government’s commitment to “good governance” by exposing the limitations of governmental capacity at the grassroots level. Unlike KKC, there is no external private investment in building community governance capacity, as with PTT’s investment in community group.

6.6 Conclusion

To sum up, the existing of network arrangement in relation to local environmental policy is new way of public sector and civil society to work together – collaboration. However, the network based structure is very loose and unstable. In KHKC there was a clear correlation between civic participation and the quality of policy making and also a community sense of the political democratic legitimacy of the state. In regard to good governance employ in community, healthy policy must be a combination of the quality of policy processes and consideration of community interests. The local authorities in KKC stepped back to enable more participation by citizens and thereby improve the quality of policy formulation and implementation. Local government staff believed that direct participation was an enabler of democracy at the local level. The KHKC case study suggests that state-building does not simply require the formal extension of state control over remote border regions but the extension of state legitimacy, and that the acknowledgement of local issues is prerequisite to effective governance. Although participation of Pha Dam forest conservation group contributes to the quality of policy making to some extent by affording more information and intellectual insight, the evidence shows that, the meaning of civil society participation in local governance is somewhat closely related with political legitimacy and regulation. Moreover, this case study suggests that the commitment of state authorities to genuine democratic deliberation is limited, if not superficial and purely tactical. As a result, the ways and effects of this participation should be re-monitored and evaluated and reconstructed.

PART III



Research Synthesis

Chapter 7

Discussion

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to interpret the research data by reference to the research aim and objectives. To accomplish this purpose, I will interpret and discuss the key empirical data generated from documentary research and the two case studies conducted in the light of existing literature and practices. An analysis of the historical context at a national level was undertaken in Chapter 4 and the following Chapters, 5 and 6 described the research evidence which was generated in the context of two local communities. Together these chapters describe the national and local contexts that inform this research. The historical analysis indicated that the change and continuity in Thai local administration has gradually shifted, from absolute hierarchical mode of governance toward ‘modern’ local governance. Modern local governance in this sense largely refers to emerging network forms of collaboration.

In addition, the data generated from the two case studies indicated that the governing process when seen through the governance lens was joined with the policy process. The two case studies reveal different story lines. The Khao Khok community (KKC), Buriram province provided evidence of a ‘deep and substantial’ form of collaboration between public authorities and civil society activists. In KKC the network form fully functioned in a co-created collaborative space and enabled participatory policy making and collaborative policy implementation. By contrast, in the Klong Hoy Khong community (KHKC), Songkla province the evidence indicated that the network function was ‘very loose and fragile’ and the emerging collaborative arrangement had a lower degree of networking. This situation reflected a fragmented functioning in the given collaborative space and resulted in rather closed policy making and restricted policy implementation. However, both cases had merit and the collected data generated useful insights that will contribute to this discussion.

This chapter is constructed in four parts that together address the research strategy of interpreting the basic transformation of Thai local governance by applying a network governance approach.

In the first section, the research aim and research questions are restated and a process for addressing these questions is introduced. An interpretive outline of topics and emerging themes that were developed from the research evidence is presented. The outline provides a reconceptualization of related key themes that account for the Thai local administration trajectory, as informed by the empirical evidence from my two case studies. This section also introduces an emerging Collaborative Local Governance (CLG) framework and its characteristics, which will inform the remaining sections of this chapter.

The second section then interprets and discusses the key empirical research findings using a comparative approach to the separate cases to draw out critical components. The comparative discussion is organised to consider three elements in turn: contextual influence, governance network as structure of CLG, and the governing process as a function of CLG. This section concludes by recognising that the two cases have different outcomes from their engagement with the CLG approach.

The third section then considers the question of ‘why’ the outcomes are different, by interpreting the CLG through the (un)changing relationship between public sector and civil society, and the conditions that support or challenge CLG. In particular, conditions that influence ways that trust is established or lost are discussed. Trust is an important component of the ways that social and human capitals are incorporated in the CLG. Trust also affects on the learning and adaptation that that results.

Finally, the fourth section provides a summary of the chapter by offering a tentative conceptual framework of Collaborative Local Governance (CLG) that might be useful for understanding contemporary Thai local governance. This framework is proposed for consideration and as a policy recommendation that offers potential for transformative practice and harmonised local governance.

7.1.1 Research Aim and Research Questions revisited

My research aim was to examine the evolving governance mode at the local Thai level against the background of global trends, global influence and the changing nature of interactions between public authorities and civil society actors in Thailand.

The main research question through which the aim was addressed is:

“What the impact of changing governance concepts and approaches on the interaction between public authorities and civil society actors at the local community in Thailand?”

The research sub questions were formulated related to intellectual themes. The purpose of these sub-questions is to guide the data generation.

- a) How does the context of existing Thai governance influence local governance practice?
- b) What changes to the governance structures have resulted from the new arrangements between public authorities and civil society?
- c) Who are included in these new structures and why were they included?
- d) What governing processes are part of the functioning of the new structures?
- e) How do relevant actors connect with each other within and across the sector and in what way?
- f) What are the influences on the governance mechanism and the relationship between public sector and civil society within changing governance structures and governing process?

In order to address these questions, I have developed a framework for the discussion in this chapter, to present an interpretation of the empirical data in relation to emerging themes. By interpreting the interactions between public sector and civil society associations through these emerging themes, I reconceptualised my initial conceptual framework, which was informed by western literature, to institute an alternative framework of Collaborative Local Governance that is more appropriate to the Thai context. The interpretive framework of topics and emerging themes informing the structure of this chapter is summarised in the table 7.1 below,

Table 7.1: The interpretive framework for research discussion and emerging themes

Topic	Emerging theme
A. Description of interactions between public authorities and civil society associations in the two case studies	
1. Contextual Influence Related to subquestion a) How does the context of existing Thai governance history influence local governance practice?	Theme 1 - The ‘When’ and the ‘Where’: The contextual factors directly and indirectly influenced a shift in Thai local administration that implied a move from “government” towards “governance”
2. Governance Form Related to sub-questions: b) What governance structures have resulted from the new arrangements between public authorities and civil society? c) Who are included in these new structures and why were they included?	Theme 2 – The ‘What’: Thai local governance structure evolved towards a network-based form, which involved actors from the public sector and invited representatives of civil society associations. The new form allowed a collaborative space to be constituted.
3. Governing Process Related to sub-question question: d) What governing processes are part of the functioning of the new structures?	Theme 3 – The ‘How’: The process of governing was dramatically shaped through negotiations and collaborative efforts of network actors in both sectors.
B. The Explanation of Practices in Two Cases Studies	
1. Relationships Related to sub-question questions: e) How do relevant actors connect with each other within and across the sector and in what way? f) What factors influence the effectiveness of the new structures and their functions?	Theme 4 – The ‘Why’: The Collaborative Local Governance mechanism creates collaborative space, and within that space the interactions appeared to affect the changing nature of the relationships between public sector and civil society.
2. Conditions Related to sub-question: e) What factors influence the effectiveness of the new structures and their functions?	Theme 5 – The ‘Why’: Trust, trust building and past experience are critical factors that support the effective collaboration between network actors through learning and adaptation processes.

Source: Author’s own work

7.1.2 Reconceptualising and defining Key Concepts

Governance theories have been extensively used in various contexts and across a range of disciplines. Within the broad scholarship on governance, I have specifically situated this thesis in concepts, assumptions and theories derived from Public Administration, Public Policy and civil society disciplines. However, there is no clear consensus on the definition of governance. For the purpose of this thesis and the discussion that follows in this chapter, I employ an interpretive framework that draws on the definition of governance introduced and developed by Rhodes (1997, 2007). Rhodes is an influential governance theorist within the Public Administration and Public Policy fields who has been cited in more than 520 articles published in major international journals (Marinetto 2003, Kjaer 2011). Rhodes initially described governance in the following way: “Governance means there is no one centre but multiple centres, there is no sovereign authority because networks have considerable autonomy” (1997, p.109). This description suggests that governance relates to a network mode of governing and he subsequently elaborated: “In much present-day use, governance refers to: a *new process* of governing, or a *changed condition* of ordered rule, or the *new method* by which society is governed” (2007, p.6). In addition to the work of Rhodes, I utilise a framework of network governance related to work of Kijin (2008). Kijin suggests that there is a conceptual clarity between good governance and network governance on the basis of changing relationships between public sector and civil society associations. Thus, the research agenda related to network governance needs to capture the changes in the public sector in the light of new forms, new processes or new methods within or outside the new conditions.

The understanding of the term itself and key concepts of governance are contested (Beach 2008, Heinrich and Lynn, 2000, Sæiseland, 2011). The term governance is widely used to indicate broad ideals or concepts or sometimes it has been used interchangeably with the term government. However, in broad terms governance can be thought of as what Osborne and Gaebler (1992, p.24) describe, “Governance is the *process* by which we collectively solve our problems and meet our society’s needs”. This definition highlights the main focus for the study of governance as the

process rather than the instrument we use to tackle our problems. This idea is further explained by Robin Hambleton (2004) as she states “Governance involves government plus the looser process of influencing and negotiating with a range of public and private sector agencies to achieve desired outcomes. A governance approach encourages collaboration between the public, private and non-profit sectors to achieve mutual goals” (p.50).

In Thailand the “good governance” concept has been adopted and mandated through a legal framework and managerial assessment tools. The term has then been defined and used in a variety of ways especially for developing key performance indicators (KPIs). In this thesis the emphasis is not on the good governance framework with respect to the way it reinforces a traditional hierarchical system. It has played an important role as a device for mediating change, and one that has facilitated new norms of participation and accountability, and the new manner of approaching and strengthening traditional governing processes at all levels. As noted in Chapter 4, good governance principles were characterised as contextual influences that were interpreted through external views of western origin. “Good governance” was also the basis for advancing the Thai bureaucratic system through public administration reform towards a democratic framework of governance. However, it was a restricted force for change associated with the financial assistance conditions required by international funding (Bawonwattana, 2001).

The two concepts, “network governance” and “good governance” are not the same. As Kijin (2008) stated good governance is not a shift to a new governance paradigm but is a way of approaching the routine work of governing and acquitting associated responsibilities. Network governance however, is a new paradigm that involves new mechanisms which co-exist with the traditional governance structures. Although good governance principles raise new norms of participatory decision-making by permitting citizens to become involved in the process of governing, these opportunities are still somewhat tokenistic and the quality of the participation is questionable. It is not correct to propose that a “good governance” approach signals a shift from government to governance, in fact, good governance tends to have a robust

connection with traditional government forms. Due to the new norms adopted by public authorities and civil society activists, there was a major shift in awareness of governing processes in relation to the democratic quality of governance practice. I discussed this synthesis within the literature on good governance and network governance in detail in Chapters 2 and 4, as a part of developing my conceptual framework and research design. methods. Both these governance concepts inform discussion in this chapter.

I consider that both concepts have significantly reshaped the relationship between state and civil society in Thailand. In this research, “governance” is used in line with its usage in public administration and public policy areas. It focuses on the shift of governing mode from state-centric to a new mode of governing where powers are dispersed among interdependent actors, which Rhodes’ (1997) classification refers to as networks. The governance concept suggests that new structures and new processes evolved as part of the policy process. The new forms of networks and the existing forms of local government co-exist and operate in parallel. The network form was initially introduced by the public sector and in some cases was extended through the sponsorship of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs). A gradual transition towards local governance was characterized by a more horizontal relationship between public and civil actors acting within the prevailing institutional arrangements.

In this chapter, I propose a conceptual framework of ‘Collaborative Local Governance’ (CLG) as an approach to examine the shift from “government” to “governance” at the local level. The CLG approach incorporates contextual influence, network-based forms, governing process, relationships, and the conditions of governance interactions that have emerged from the empirical research. The “governance networks” were interpreted as a form of structure in the CLG. This network-based form differs from social network, community network and policy network. The local governance networks were formed by connecting the public sector with civil society associations which in turn bridged the social networks in the communities. The network-based form functioned in the governing process through a mechanism based on attempted collaboration and collaborative effort. The functioning

of the governing process utilised the social capital and human capital in the CLG. However, the effectiveness of implementation of governance activity relied heavily on the changing relationships that were being developed between the sectors and in particular, the levels of trust that existed.

Collaborative Local Governance (CLG) in the way I use the term refers to a network-based form of collaboration that has been established in deliberate ways to achieve particular outcomes. The way CLGs are formed and the ways they are intended to function are perceived in the following ways.

- (a) CLGs consist of sets of innovative and mixed network forms, between state and non-state actors who are interdependent and represent their formal institutions and informal connections, including social networks within the community.
- (b) CLGs have formal levels of network that vary from very loose networking to strong network structures.
- (c) CLGs are constructed to function with collaborative efforts between network actors in order to respond to common concerns and problems.
- (d) CLGs influence public policy on development through negotiation and participation.
- (e) CLGs require mutual understanding and commitment to binding public policy that is signified as shared ownership of accomplishment.
- (f) CLGs not only continue their interactions to collaborate in policy development but also institutionalise themselves.

In short, the definition of governance that I propose is the “utilitarian mode” described by Lsett, Mergal and LeRoux (2011). In this regard, governance is an approach to understanding and enhancing political and policy practices. It is perceived as a potential mechanism to enable public functions to be conducted in an integrative way. Even though this definition is modified for the particular context in Thailand, it still relates to governance literature in related research enterprises such as that of Huang and Provan (2007), Argranoff 2007, Agranoff and McGuire (2003). Ultimately, this

thesis aims to provide an operational definition of governance that might be appropriate for Thai society.

7.2 Interpreting and describing interactions between public authorities and civil society associations in the CLG approach

This section compares the two case studies to clarify similarities and differences in the local administrative movements. The observed variations involved contextual, structural and functional aspects of the new governance processes under the network arrangement. The research findings reveal that structural factors like new network-based forms have an impact on the transition of local affairs towards a connected public sector and third sector by creating collaborative space. However, this new institutional form is still at a formative stage. Based on the historical examination in Chapter 4 combined with empirical evidence presented in Chapters 6 and 7, these components are constructed to describe the emergence of the local governance mechanism.

According to Maxwell, (2004), in dealing with 'interaction' between the public sector and third sector cannot be addressed through responding to the 'How' research question with a simple series of variations. Rather, the response needs to comprise layers that include appearances and how it works. Consequently, the section initially covers the structural form of 'new' local governance. Later, it presents the governing processes within the CLG context.

7.2.1 Unpacking Contextual Influence

Theme 1: *The contextual factors directly and indirectly influenced a shift in Thai local administration that implied a move from “government” towards “governance”*

The roots of Thai local administration transformation toward “local governance” lie in the response of changing global and national contexts and local environment (Jomboonruang, 2008). Thai society has been in a transition period since experiencing

the economic crisis in 1997 and subsequently adopting a “good governance” approach. The aftermath of establishing the new norm of good governance in Thailand as a condition of financial assistance was that dramatic changes occurred with regard to local administration and community practices. To comprehend the contextual factors from data generated in the two case studies, the context of the research has to be broken down into two layers: the Thai situation, at the national and local levels, and second, the Thai situation in relation to Western contexts.

The two case studies, Khao Khok Community (KKC) in Buriram province and Klong Hoy Khong Community (KHKC) in Songkla province are set in a Thai context. The Thai State is, to some extent perceived as an authoritarian state that favours centralisation and top-down approaches (Likhit 1992). This leads to a strong ‘command and control chain’ from central government in Bangkok to exert a strong influence in affairs at the local community and village levels. Local governments have imitated the administrative style and closed systems of the central government. However, decentralization and local autonomy gained attention after the passage and enactment in 1997 of constitutional and public administration reform. As indicated in Chapter 4, the consequence of these legislative mechanisms and bureaucratic reforms not only positively endorsed local government systems but also reinforced social change through strengthening society at large. The rise of civil society associations resulted in the national scheme, the Social Investment Project (SIP) in 1997. The majority of Thai civil society associations were set up during this time, including those that were the subject of my case studies.

The two case studies were situated in very different contexts. Geographically, the Khao Khok Community (KKC) is located in Buriram province in the North-East Region of Thailand, and the Klong Hoy Khong Community (KHKC), is located in Songkla province in the South of Thailand. In Thailand, differentiate locality implies differences in the population’s character, political culture and the social ecosystem. As the analysis in Chapter 4 described, the research data portray two very different pictures of approaches to Collaborative Local Governance. The research data suggest that in Thai society, ‘one size doesn’t fit all’. The implementation of network

governance in a locality needs to acknowledge the reality of localism in order for this new mechanism to suit the local context and environment.

Public Administration and Public Policy in Asian countries are now at a crossroads with regard to moving towards either a “new” governance mode or maintaining the status quo of hierarchical and market-oriented governance. The new mode originated from diverse ideas from the West, including European and the United States. Western states are responding to the complexity of administration issues through a lens of “governance” that intentionally introduces a paradigm shift in public administration, and in theory and practice. Asian countries have considered moving in the same direction as the West. However, the heritage of Asian countries differs from western societies, the new approach may not be directly transferable.

The research data reveal that context does matter when it comes to different outcomes of implementing network governance mechanisms. To apply governance mechanisms to Thailand, they need to acknowledge the “logic of appropriateness” (Grader, 1984). The context of each place is unique, but at a national and a local level. My argument about the significance of context aligns with Koppenjan et al.’s conclusion from their cross-nation research (2010) in the West, which included the Netherlands, Australia and the United States. For instance, in California the cultural context was identified as one important explanatory factor for the variation in the degree of success that resulted from mixed forms of institutional arrangement. My research confirms the importance of contextual variation and how such variation influences the performance of network arrangements. The challenge of applying network governance approaches to Thai contexts needs to involve adjustments for the local context, not just full duplication of tools of governance. The significance of the contextual influence will be carried forward to reconceptualise the framework of Collaborative Local Governance that might be appropriate within Thai context.

7.2.2 Unpacking Network - Based Form as Structural Change

Theme 2: *Thai local governance structure evolved towards a network-based form, which involved actors from the public sector and invited representatives of civil society associations. The new form allowed a collaborative space to be constituted.*

There are similarities and differences between the two case studies with respect to structural change within local governance. The changing forms of governance were interpreted empirically through documentary analysis, observation and interviews that recorded the perspectives of research participants from public sector and civil society groups. The various sources of empirical data were then synthesised to understand the transition of institutional challenge and movement from rigid hierarchical control to network-based forms. The data reveal that interaction between both parties generated new forms based on the parties' own interpretations of new ways of governing at local level. These new structures co-existed with the traditional bureaucracy for local government. The network participants made an effort to evolve into a mixed form, and across the public sector and civil society associations. Networking ties were perceived as a new initiative with regard to Thai local governance movement (Jaras, 2000, Weerasak, 2007). Additionally, as Nisachon (2012) points out in a comprehensive review of Thai Public Administration development, Thai local administration studies are now focused on good governance concepts and network issues to illuminate the phenomenon of local networks. This research treats Collaborative Local Governance from a different structural perspective, by applying a network governance approach to study the local governance network as form of collaboration.

The research data reveal the various practices of Collaborative Local Governance on the basis of structural aspects in two case studies in KKC and KHKC. The interactions between public authorities and civil society actors described, in effect emphasised how they approached each other to form network structures, and at the same time as they affirmed their own individual networks' structural characteristics. I argue that there are some similarities in the forming of network structures between the two case studies which suggest a 'generic' principle, of Collaborative Local

Governance. However, there are also some fundamental differences between the two case studies that qualify any generic principle.

7.2.2.1 Similarity in the formation of local governance network

The research evidence indicates that there were important general similarities in the patterns that were exhibited when the network structures formed in the two case studies. These similarities include motivating drivers, activating structure, confirming membership and acknowledging diversity.

Motivating drivers

The interactions between public sector and civil society groups to form the network structure in both case studies were subject to similar motivations. The data from the two studies were in accord, in that there was a determination by the public sector to seek collaboration with the civil society sector. This was largely for managerial reasons. The public sector responded to the new norm of good governance in terms of participation and to meet the tokenistic requirement of managerial performance assessment produced by the Ministry of Interior. Additionally, the data from both case studies indicated that the local public sector had limited capacity and limited resources to tackle the issues of environmental concern. This result confirms Lawdrown and Peirre's conceptual clarity (2011) on the motivation behind the collaboration toward network governance, that the traditional institution or public domain is no longer able to tackle the concerns and problems by itself, which in turn drives them to seek collaboration.

This research also aligns with Weerasak's study (2009) of motivation under the network arrangement which indicates that Thai local governments determine to work with other parties because they want to increase their restricted capacity. Moreover, the research data demonstrate that the same enthusiasm was shown by the civil society associations to collaborate with public sector due to their understanding of civic rights, deep concern about public problems and a mindset that values voluntary contribution to community well-being. My findings expand understanding related to

motivation and the determination of working together between public sector and societal sector by incorporating points of view from both sectors

Activating structure

Another similarity in the case studies is the approach utilised for activating the network governance structure. As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 4, on the complex existence of the power structure in Thai society, cultural and traditional constraints run deeply through social networks involving social status and the patronage system. The local networks were constructed initially by mandate from the public sector. The public sector invited participants from the community to attend formal meetings and a forum. The Tambon Administration Act and official local planning procedure from the Ministry of Interior (MOI) were referenced as the legal rules and framework to bring civil society associations, as key representatives of community, into a corpus of committees. Also, there was supervision by MOI of the networking by the public sector and the community through establishment of a community forum. As the documentary research and case studies evidence in Chapters 5 and 6 show, the official local development committees were formally regulated and community fora were thus managed in both communities. These committees had the responsibility for collaboration and constructively contributing to general local policies and to local development planning. Within such authorized methods within the local bureaucracy, local governance networks emerged and bridged the public sector and civil society associations. Significantly, after the activation of these local governance networks, unwritten prior connections endured. The empirical data also confirm and acknowledge the evolution of 'shadow' networks. These networks were associated with social connections and served as lobbying groups that tried to influence local governance networks. These structures evolved to become more prominent and influential within the local network structure. I argue that the capacities of these network forms were uneven and their potential for transforming institutional frames or accommodate a fully functioning network governance mechanism.

Confirming Membership

Another major similarity between the case studies was the acceptance of the other party as a network partner. This led to the network structural characteristic of inclusion. The data from both case studies show that all participants from one sector accepted the participants from the other sector as network members. This was a crucial step that was identified in a prior study of networks in Public Administration. Lsett et al (2011) argue that network membership “raises the important and critical issue of whether the actors in an attributed network (meaning a group where the network paradigm is applied) must acknowledge and accept that they operate in a network for it to actually be a network”. My research data supports that claim. They signify that even though the network participants might not be able to clearly indicate the legislative status of their network, all of them confirmed strongly that they perceived themselves to be part of a local network arrangement and cooperated with one another on some activities of the governing process. This matter will be explored further, to consider the conceptual issues around the apparent awareness of a need for mutual affirmation as a vital element in network governance

Even though the research data from two case studies agree on basic requirements for inclusion in the network structures, perceptions of network membership differed in important ways. In KKC the majority of network participants from both sectors agreed that formal invitation could be an effective pathway to inclusion. However, the findings for KHKC reveal some negative responses from civil society groups who had interpreted the invitation as a demand to attend. This difficulty led to the undesirable perception, of unequal roles within a superior-subordinate relationship between the network actors, and in turn, it reflects an ongoing influence of command and control in the Thai public domain.

Acknowledging diversity

A third major similarity is the combination of distinct types of organization aiming to bridge the public sector and civil society associations. The diversity of network actors is a critical element in an attributed network structure. The diversity of network membership and interdependence can be seen through the interactions that occur

when they pool resources and share perspectives. The research findings in both case studies show that network actors acknowledge the different network actor origins and they noticed the diverse within the organisation that they connected with. These research data reveal the shift in organisational architecture from the closed, traditional public domain to network-based forms connecting with civil society associations. This change implies that the public sector was no longer isolating itself but rather, networking with the civil society sector to work with it on public affairs.

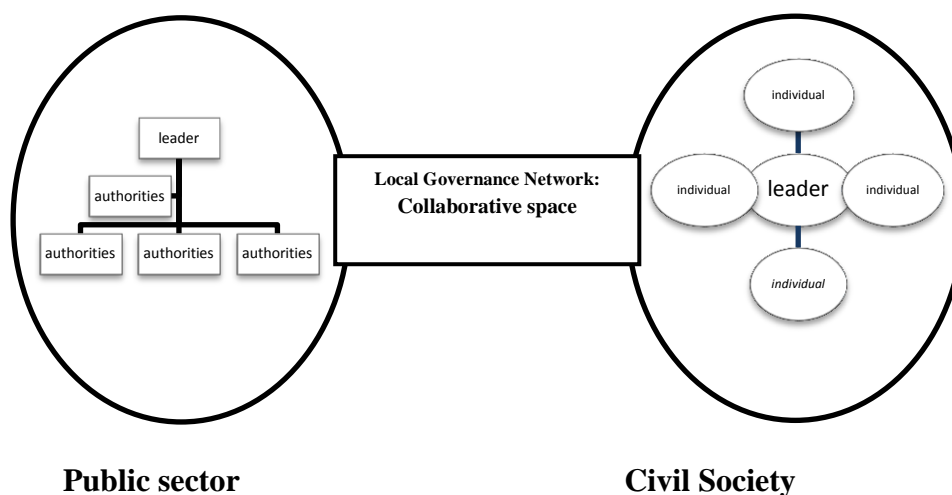
The emerging diversity within the network-based form enables us to assess the resource sharing process. These resources include funding, labour, time, professional knowledge, local wisdom, skills, experiences and perspectives. The diversity acknowledges the complexity of resources circulating among the network actors within the network boundaries. The absence of an operating social scale in network-based environments facilitates the possibility of recognising what individuals, associations and institutions actually deliver into the governance system. The clarification of individual character and skills can be perceived as assets and can be capitalised by means of social capital and human capital. The empirical data in both case studies demonstrate that when civil society actors connected and participated in Collaborative Local Governance, they brought in the features and values of social networks and social capital to the system they committed to and collaborated within. My results confirm the observation made by Murray (2010), that: “The hybridized or mixed form of network structure is shaped by the organizational structures that individual actors bring to the network” (2010, p.262).

However, the diversity of network-based forms brings the issue of individual focus and actors’ interests into consideration. The research data demonstrate that the interaction between network actors were assumed by the other to be an authentic action of expressing community needs and concerns which related directly to their own lives and livelihood. That is, interaction between public authorities and civil society actors channel and voice their individual foci and interests on environmental issues as common concerns. In doing so, the network-based form created the space to accommodate the diversity and interdependency. Under the network environment, the

collaborative space appeared as a governance opportunity that allowed the governing process to function.

Based on the diversity within the Collaborative Local Governance, the formation of a local network-based form between public sector and civil society could be represented as a connection between two nodes. These two nodes were connected and constituted the space and opportunity for network actors to collaborate. The diversity within the network-based form cautions us to consider the complex qualities of membership and that these can represent key elements in understanding the complexity of network characteristics, as is presented in figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Representation of the complexity and different characteristics between public sector and civil society within the emerging network-based form.



Source: Author's own work

7.2.2.2 Difference in the formation of local governance networks

Alongside the similarities mentioned above, there were major differences between the two case studies that affected the dynamics of the network structure. These differences included innovative development, formality of arrangements, and connectedness.

Innovative development

The development of network structures in KKC and KHKC were quite different. The data from KKC demonstrate that the development of local governance networks evolved from the network mandating by the public sector. The network actors from the public sector and from civil society shared ownership and responsibility under a strong commitment to work together in a network-based form. They also shared credit for achievement and jointly undertook the primary evaluation of the task on which they worked together. The evidence from the KKC case also indicated that civil society associations began to establish themselves and their social networks within the power structure of the governance network. In contrast, the KHKC local network-based form was very loose and fragile. The local network structure was formed under the pressure of managerial imperatives and public pressure through media and there was not the initial shared commitment. As a result, the network-based form was fragile and unstable. In KHKC, the network-based form was left to chance rather than following a deliberately planned development path.

Formality of arrangements

The network-based forms in the two case studies had different levels of formality, though they activated these network forms through the same officially mandated approach. In KKC, the formality was extensive. The research data demonstrated that network actors from the public sector and civil society connected and approached each other in a formal manner. For instance, they normally made contact through official letters and symbols of officialdom. There was an instance when they preferred to keep socially distant, to avoid the question of personal relationships impacting on issues of accountability. The data suggest that formality is a crucial factor for sustaining and monitoring network performance in KKC. The network actors filed and kept formal records of documents and official materials. Conversely, the formality of local network-based form in KHKC was extremely low. The frequency and content of connection through communication tools used between network actors were few and casual.

Connectedness

Another difference between the two cases is the connectedness between network actors within the network-based form. The data in KKC demonstrate the strong connectedness between network actors from both sectors. The connection of network membership across the sector rested heavily on a strong linkage of a small number of key network actors, particularly those in leadership positions. For example, the leaders of civil society associations in KKC had a strong connection with the public leader of authorities. The strong linkage came from the leader's charismatic qualities and good reputation as a progressive activist at the national and local level. Accordingly, the data suggest that well equipped collaborative skills and flexible mindsets in the use of human resources available strengthen the connectedness within the Collaborative Local Governance mechanism. In contrast, the research findings in KHKC, illustrate that there was a weak connectedness between public authorities and civil actors. Additionally, there was a lack of collaborative skills for working across different spheres within the network environment.

The comparison of the formation of local network-based forms discussed above leads us to compare and contrast the network structure characteristics that emerged from the data analysis. The network structural characteristics include: Innovative mixed forms across the sectors, Inclusion, Diversity, Interdependency, Formality and Connectedness. The different practices related to these characteristics, evident in the emerging networked-based forms in each case are summarised in the table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Summary of Network Structure Characteristics from two case studies

Network Structural Characteristics	Two Case Studies	
	KKC – Northeast	KHKC – South
- Innovation (yes/no)	yes	no
- Mixed forms across the sectors (yes/no)	yes	yes, but very loose
- Inclusion (yes/no)	yes	yes
- Diversity (yes/no)	yes	yes
- Interdependency (yes/no)	yes	yes
- Formality (formal/informal)	formal	informal
- Connectedness (strong/medium/weak)	strong	weak

Source: Author's own work

7.2.3 Unpacking Governing Process as functional change

Theme 3: *The process of governing was dramatically shaped through negotiations and collaborative efforts of network actors in both sectors.*

The Collaborative Local Governance (CLG) mechanism was introduced and established in KKC and KHKC and was intended to bridge the public sector and civil society associations. However, establishing these forms did not in itself indicate how they would function. This section summarises and discusses how the networks functioned in the two different contexts. The empirical evidence suggested that the network actors recognised the collaborative efforts between different sectors within the governance network. However, within each network-based form, the collaborative efforts were found to involve asymmetric attempts by each sector. The interdependent requirement of local network-based form meant that in both case studies the governance process was required to develop within the new collaborative framework.

The research data indicates that intentional change in local governance structure to governance network-based forms, had gradually shaped the nature of the governing process into a more open mode that enabled more participants to be represented. Additionally, within these more inclusive governance spaces, there were collaborative

opportunities that were opened up that were designed to be more inclusive and adaptive. However, the research data from the two case studies demonstrated that these collaborative spaces operated differently. In the KKC case, the research findings show a harmonious interactive pattern between public authorities and civil society actors. They mainly interacted in a positive manner with mutual respect under the CLG environment. The coherence evident in these interactions lay heavily in the strong bond of inter-personal relationships and the social cohesion which characterised the community. On the other hand, in the KHKC case, the research evidence highlights the conflict between governance network actors across the sectors. Even though the governing process seemed to involve interactive practice, challenges between public sector and civil society associations became a norm. The civil society associations in this CLG also took a further step of being active by using local media to express their concern about governance issues. As a result, the steering process adopted by the governance network form was influenced. While, in the KKC case, the nature of governing process was adaptive and cohesive, the governing process was characterised by conflict in the KHKC case.

The empirical evidence from both case studies revealed that governing processes required ongoing collaborative effort within the collaborative space created under the CLG environment. As such, the governing process itself was changed through the impact of its own interactions between governance network actors. Therefore, the development of the governing process over time can be understood by mapping out the cycle of the collaborative process. According to Ansell and Gash's observation (2007, p.15) "collaborative process is cyclical rather than linear". In addition, due to the governing process not being perceived as a linear procedure, the changing strategy that developed over time can be considered alongside the changing situations and conditions of a cyclical process. The feedback from each stage influenced further interactions within the governing process.

Aligning with the assumption that collaborative interaction is a fundamental aspect of the network governance concept as discussed in Chapter 2, the research findings of both the quantitative and qualitative methods utilised in both case studies indicated that the collaborative efforts of governance network actors from both public sector and civil society associations have been gradually established through the environment policy development process. The collaborative effort, of working together across the sectors have incrementally and progressively transformed the nature of Thai local administration from an exclusively hierarchical mode toward an inclusive network governance mode. Additionally, as the historical analysis in Chapter 4 demonstrated, this new way of making policy and putting it into the practice through collaborative action has been promoted in terms of participation under the “good governance” approach. The research data suggest that collaborative interactions between governance network actors under the CLG were strengthened by greater participative action, in doing so, they ultimately consolidated local democracy.

Maxwell (2004, p.55) suggests that an appropriate approach to address the ‘how’ research question is by providing a process map. Thereby, the cycle of governing process coupled with the policy cycle from the two case studies can be developed to provide visual representation of the research findings. These cycles can then be combined to display the patterns across the two governing processes.

To construct the cycles, it is necessary to understand the function of each local governance network in order to better comprehend the actual processes that contribute to the diverse outcomes under the particular conditions in each case. It is also essential to understand the reasons that governance network actors have for interacting with one another in certain ways that in turn lead to the certain outcomes. The developed process map is used to display the events, activities and influences leading to the diverse interactions between public sector and civil society associations within governing processes. As mentioned in Chapter 2(pxx), the local governance networks were associated with the stages of a policy process, to clarify the overlays of network and policy functions. Table 7.3, below, illustrates an interpretative framework in which each governing process within the governance network is linked to the stages of the policy cycle.

Table 7.3: Local governance network in governing process in relation to policy cycle

Governing Process	Policy Cycle
1. Activities Setting	1. Policy Formulation
2. Communication and Negotiation	
3. Shared Resources	
4. Shared Ownership	
5. Implementation	2. Policy Implementation
6. Shared Accomplishment	3. Policy Evaluation
7. Evaluation and Feedbacks	

Source: Author's own work

From quantitative data analysis, the interactions between network actors involved in the local environmental policy development stages from both case studies point to more collaborative and inclusive approaches. The research findings show that the overall extent of participation in policy processes was high in the KKC case, while it was moderate in the KHKC case. However, while the quantitative data display constructive evidence of collaborative efforts at the policy stages, the qualitative data derived from combined semi- structured interviews and observation highlight the complexity and inconsistency of the collaborative actions. My explanation for this contradiction in the research findings draws on Keyne's classic Thai study (1966) on attitudes toward public servants' performance in Thai bureaucracy. His study suggested that there is a cultural condition in Thai society that can limit and serve to moderate the research data, especially when particular situations or activities are related to authority. It is my contention that opinions which were suppressed in the quantitative data were revealed during the more intensive qualitative study. This concern about the discrepancies in the different data was mentioned in the methodology chapter (pxx), and I have treated this sensitive issue by using a 'triangulation' approach (pxx). The paradox in the research findings further affirms

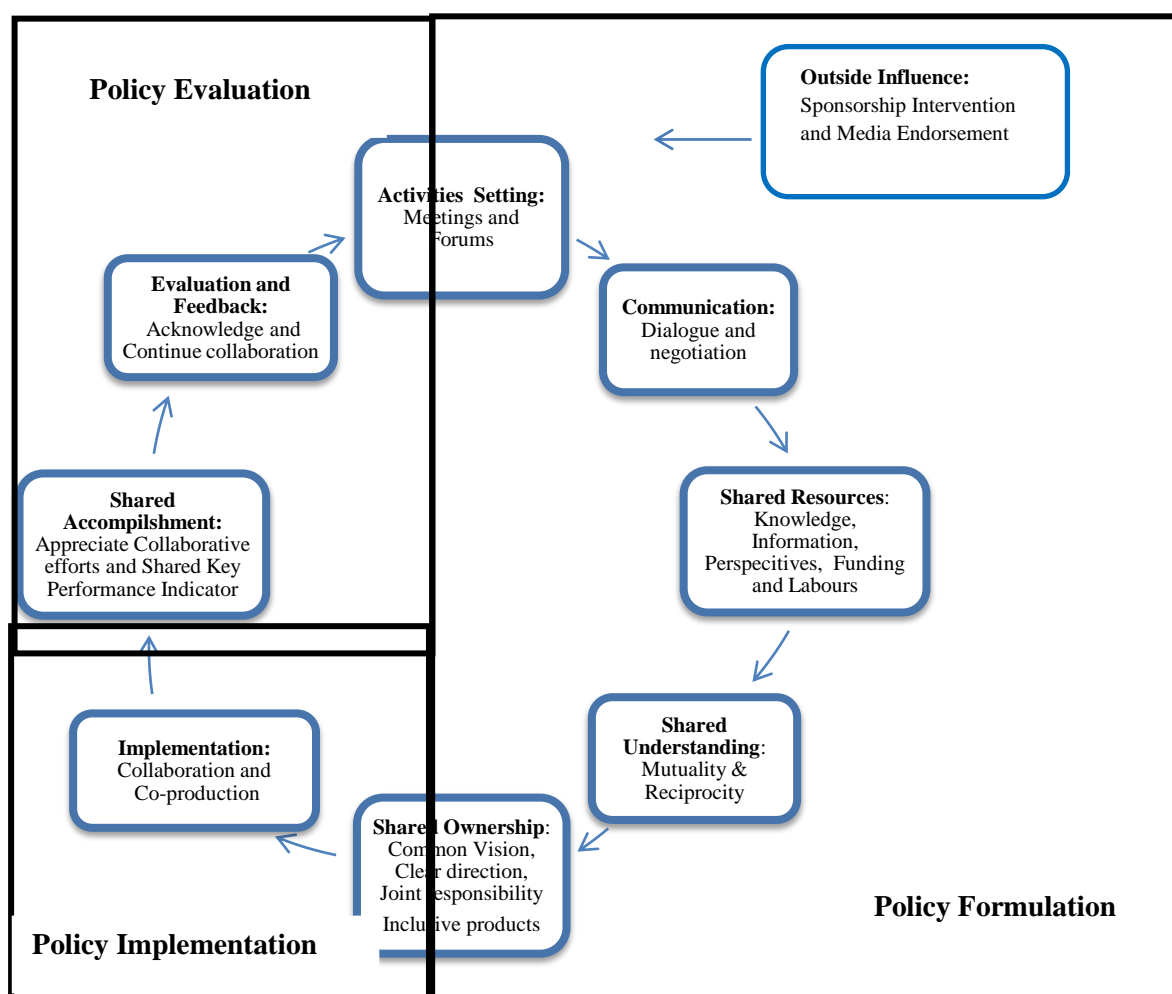
and complements Keyne's work: The cultural condition plays an important role in research design and research discussion relating to Thai study.

The qualitative data were interpreted by focusing on how the governing process actually functions. The research evidence identifies the different stages and consequences of the governing process and accentuates the differences between the two research contexts. In the KKC case, the research data illustrate the fruitful and sustaining nature of collaborative efforts throughout the governing process. There was evidence of effective collaboration in the CLG with regard to tackling local affairs and environmental concerns in particular. The new way of governing resulted in the public sector collaborating with civil society associations. The local governance network actors took part in meetings and community fora to influence the local environmental policy formation. These activities had additional support from sponsorship by an NGO. The incentives provided by the NGO sponsorship were introduced as action research to bolster the local governing process in terms of enhancing participation. This served as an effective intervention in the CLG approach. This sponsorship led to increased communication between governance network actors, mainly through dialogue and creating the possibilities for negotiation to occur within the collaborative space. In this communicative process, dialogue was used as strategy to set in motion 'talk' between governance network actors. The communication was directed towards creating the opportunity for resource exchanges by actors from both sectors. However, the process could be seen to involve asymmetric resource exchange in terms of the perspective, information, knowledge, funding and labours the different actors could provide. This process of sharing resources also acted to reinforce the degree of commitment that the governance network actors had to the governing process. Further, the communication process led to an increasingly shared understanding between governance network actors based on mutuality and reciprocity.

The result was shared ownership and a joint commitment to achieve the desired outcomes as a network unit. In this way, the local governance network actors were part of a process that co-produced outcomes based on a common vision with

clear direction and joint responsibility. The shared ownership also increased the commitment to the governing process and provided a sense of shared accomplishment between local governance network actors. The research data also reflected the high level of appreciation by the network actors for collaborative effort and shared key performance indicators. The evaluation and adaptation stages of the governing process are crucial stages before the feedback process can begin. These stages acknowledge and continue collaboration. The governance process was sustained through the appreciation of effective outcomes and embracing appropriated and possible 'solutions'. The evolving nature of the new way of working together was recognised, exhibited and endorsed through various media channels. Figure 7.2 provides a visual representation of the governing processes and operation in the KKC.

Figure 7.2: The Cycle of the Governing Process in KKC Case

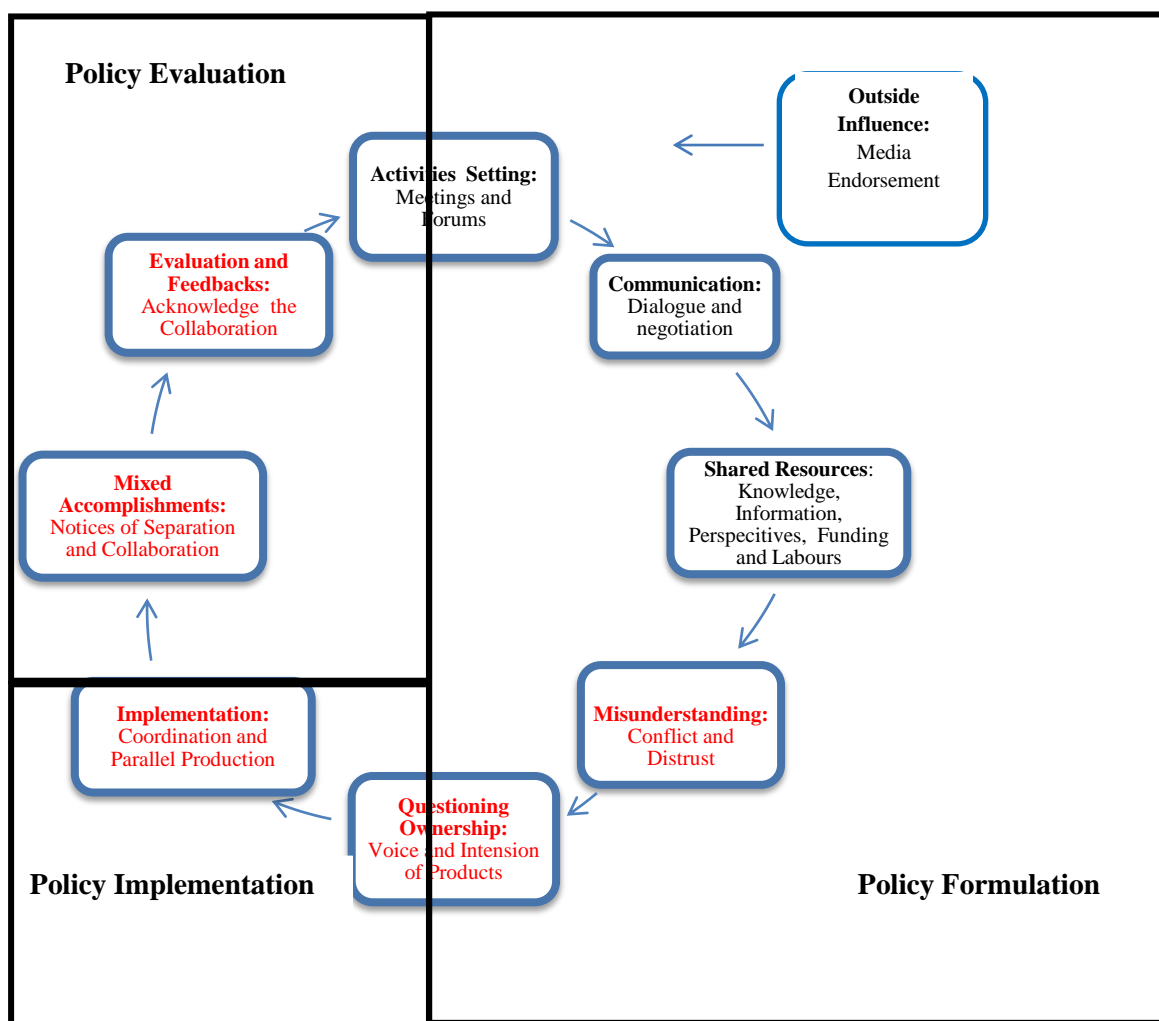


Source: Author's own work

On the other hand, the research findings show the governing process in the KKHC case were characterised by obstruction and uneven collaborative efforts between governance network actors. The evidence exposed struggles and conflict between public authorities and civil society actors within the attributed governance network and this affected performance and influenced local environmental policy. The community fora were used to create collaborative space for influencing local environmental policy formation on issues of concern. The majority of network actors were representatives from the public sector. The representatives from civil society were appointed and invited to participate in the meeting as a consequence of network acknowledgement and media concern. Although the meetings were mainly dominated by public authorities, they created opportunities for network actors to communicate with one another. The increasing opportunities for communication were designed to build trust between network actors. However, there were tensions and unexpected outcomes of mistrust and disagreement between public authorities and civil society actors during the communicative process. The dialogue strategy that was used for exchanging resources involved information, perspective and knowledge. However, there were fights over the truthfulness and accuracy of information and it was not possible to reach a consensus in one meeting. That situation led to increasing levels of distrust and misunderstanding between network actors. The commitment of network actors to work together as a governance network unit suffered accordingly. Therefore, it caused the questioning of ownership of the network policy outcomes by civil society actors. A situation of misunderstanding and questioning of ownership led to undermining of the network governance environment. The collaborative efforts of civil society actors were put on hold and in some stages were withdrawn as the governance network failed to demonstrate a clear purpose and direction. Later, mixed approaches to the implementation of policy resulted in parallel production between public sector and civil society that stemmed from the asymmetric resource exchange process combined with misunderstanding and questioning of ownership.

A result of that mixed implementation was a mixed interpretation of accomplishment and separate recognition of work input, which lessened the collaborative advantages. The evaluation and feedback from network actors pointed out the acknowledgement of collaborative efforts between public sector and civil society associations. However, the research data caution that there was a negative perception from civil society associations on the less meaningful and useful interactions arising from their presence in the governing process as governance network. Consequently, in the KHKC case, the local governance network was at an undeveloped stage and was not yet sustainable or institutionalised. Figure 7.3 offers a visual representation of governing process in the KHKC case of a local governance network at work.

Figure 7.3: The Cycle of Governing Process in KHKC Case



Source: Author's own work

The two case studies highlight two sets of practices in the local governance network modes. Similarities and differences of governing process were evident. The similarities involved the activities setting, communication and negotiation through dialogue strategy, and shared resources. The differences comprised the intervention and endorsement devices, the understanding between each other, sense of ownership, implementation mode, sense of accomplishment, and evaluation and feedback.

7.2.3.1 Similarity of Governing Process in the Two Case Studies

The interaction between public authorities and civil society actors under the attributed governance network were based on instructions and rules generated by the dominant public authority. In both cases, the network actors' attendance provided collaborative spaces, for example, community fora and working group meetings provided the basic foundations of collaboration. The common impetus encouraging or discouraging the network actors in both places to attend activities was media endorsement. The data also highlight that the media had a significant impact on the apparent urgency and usefulness of activity setting to resolve natural management concerns at the time. In the KKC case, the community radio and television programmes were used to communicate the essential and positive effect of strengthening civil society and networking with the public sector. In KHKC, the local newspapers and radio station channelled the lack of effectiveness of the public sector in natural management issues, and they favourably presented the civil society associations and their urgent action in response to a weak public response to environmental concerns.

Activities setting provided the opportunity for network actors to openly and proactively interact with each other. The research data from both case studies on this first stage of the governing process demonstrate that the activities setting process extended beyond the influence of shadow networks and lobbying and involved the public sector and civil society associations working together to find ways to resolve the local issue. This research data indicated the evolution of a local governance network that went further than what Osborne, Janei and Fabian observed about how local authorities and community interact in Hungary, as 'whispering at the back door' (2008, p.331). In addition, at this stage we need to acknowledge the media pressure on

the functioning of the local governance network to initiate the opportunity for network conditions to develop, as the data in both case studies has indicated.

Communication is the next step after the activities setting . This is a critical feature that will run throughout the whole governing process. Ansell and Gash (2007) argued that communication refers to the sentiment of collaboration. The research data in both case studies illustrate the importance of communication for stimulating the interactions between network actors. In both cases, the local governance network mainly relied on using dialogue as a strategy for communication between network actors. Dialogue was used as an effective strategy but it also proved to be inadequate at times and that led to undesired outcomes. If the dialogue and communicative process could not resolve conflict between network actors within one meeting it was likely to increase distrust. The research finding indicated that trust played a complex role in communication and negotiation and, therefore, trust building was indicated in both case studies. Ongoing communication created and recreated the condition of trust under the local governance process. The collaboration between network actors who were given the opportunity and responsibility to communicate was restricted. The stage of formulating the local policy was conducted through the communicative process, dialogue and negotiation and the decision process was limited as the public sector was legally given the major authoritative power to generate the final official policy and plan, which left the civil society advocates with minor influence. This situation emphasises the power imbalance between network actors. The collaboration efforts of civil society associations to some extent, were treated in a way that Kokpol termed “rubber stamped approval” (1998, p.80).

The next stage of the shared resource between network actors was developed after the communication process. The network actors collectively negotiated through the resource exchange process. The resources involved in governing process include knowledge, information, perspectives, funding and labour. The research finding from two case studies suggests that governance network actors from the public sector and civil society associations perceived that they were moderately interdependent in relation to resource exchange. This exchange process was acknowledged as a

discovery of new resources from community, and the local governance network was seen as resourceful in its own institutional arrangement. The empirical data reveal the strong linkage between form and function of local governance through a resource exchange process between network actors in both case studies. The flow of resource distribution was established within the governing process. These research findings imply the connection between governance network and social capital theory in the way Lowndes and Pratchett (2011, p.302) describe: “an explicit attempt to cash in on the social capital that already exists in policy domains”. The research data from both case studies demonstrate that the resource exchange process represented a local governance network characteristic of diversity and interdependency. This research aligns with and provides the empirical evidence for the conceptual clarity proposed by Blanco, Lowndes and Pratchett (2011) on the nature of exchange between governance network actors from across the sectors in their combining of various resources.

The extent of resource interdependence between network actors from public sector and civil society associations in both case studies was moderated and each sector was partly autonomous in their resourcing. Although, the network actors were actively pooling resources and sharing them, they did not consider that the other partner was the main source of resources. Subsequently, public sector and civil society associations still continued with their position of autonomy in relation to resource exchange. The data from the two case studies also revealed asymmetric distribution of measurable and unmeasurable resources between governance network actors. The data confirm and provide empirical evidence on the mixed administrative ties as asymmetrical allocations of resource in the governance network’s “conceptual considerations” proposed by Koliba, Meek and Zia (2010, p.257). In addition, in the KKC case, the data demonstrate that the public sector offered financial assistance and labour to the civil society associations, while civil society associations offered perspective, information, and local wisdom to the public sector. Correspondingly, in the KHKC case, the data reveal the resource exchange between public sector and civil society associations occurred in a similar way. Indeed, these research results are similar to the pattern identified in Brudney’s study (2007) on resources that were exchanged between state agencies and non-state agencies.

7.2.3.2 Differences in Governing Process in the Two Case Studies

There was also a wide range of differences in the interactions that occurred in each case study. The KKC the communication went well, while in KHKC the communication failed to build trust and understanding between network actors in the stage of resource exchange. This critical stage led to a point of divergence on how governance networks functioned in each case. This led to further divergence in the governing processes, as shown in the diagram below (Figure 7.4)

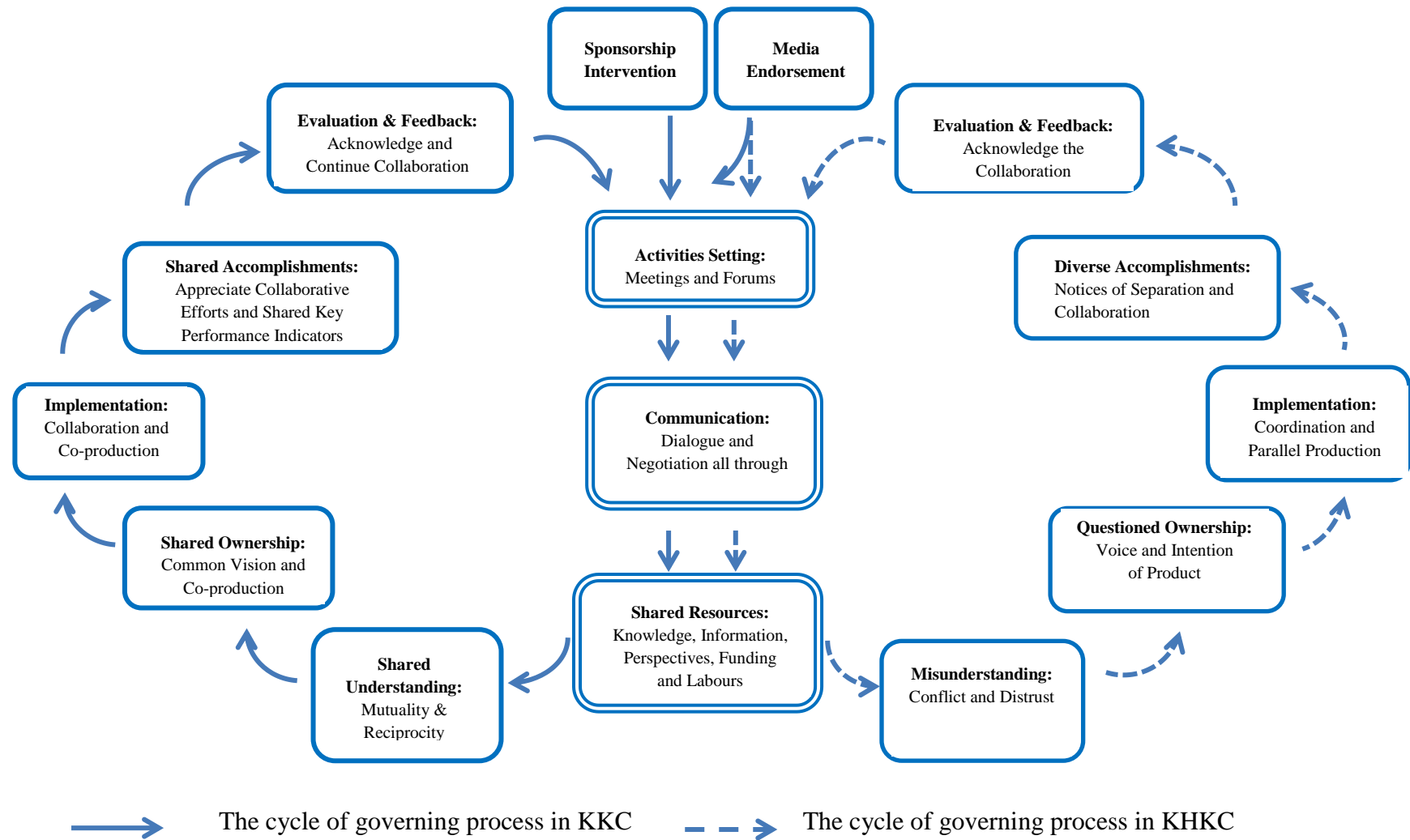


Figure 7.4: The Dual Cycles of Governing Process of Two Case Studies

Source: Author's own work

7.2.3.3 The Changing Nature of Governing Process under the CLG

Another feature of the data was that within the framework of networking approaches there was evidence of varying degrees of influence by individuals. Individuals were the agents that enabled the network arrangements to take shape and provided the momentum for them to function. Individuals brought their own character to the network and this added a layer of complexity. In the KKC case, the leading civil society actors played a dominant role in the governing process and took charge of resource management within the community.

The KKC network was strengthened and institutionalised by the external sponsorship intervention of NGOs in conducting action research into the process of co-governance. This sponsorship confirms the idea of Lawndren (2009) that network sponsorship is necessary and enhances the possibility to institutionalise the network arrangements. This innovative practice supports the network structure at the policy development level and also builds strong links between network actors. This, in turn, generates a sense of shared commitment and shared ownership which carries through the communicative process in the network. The communicative strategy or dialogue facilitated the channels for voicing and expressing the political opportunities for civil society. These activities went beyond the representative democracy that in Thailand typically has involved the vote buying and the corruption arising from the high level of local political competition. This support for the network through sponsorship was not evident in the KHKC situation.

The empirical data raised questions about who had access to the network and who was able to play an active role in the new style of governing. There were clear restrictions on who was included in the network approach. Within the dialogue that formed part of the network deliberations, Thai social norms still applied so as to favour seniority and social status. It was not possible for everyone to express their ideas without adjusting their position within the network. This situation was common to both the research contexts and underlines the importance of recognising the cultural norms and influences that are relevant to the communities. Tradition and cultural considerations

were essential aspects of the governing processes and dictated both the rhythm and the pace of the activity.

When the governance activity reached the point of formally writing plans and planning documents, the civil society group was not as strongly represented in both cases. This seemed to be related to a lack of skill and experience in generating actual policy and planning. As a result, this activity remained in the hands of the public authority partners. Some of the civil society actors tried to break the literacy barrier by attending training projects for capacity building. However, it seemed that public authorities did not agree to developing genuine joint and collaborative writing processes. The prevailing attitude seemed to be that this type of knowledge and activity should stay with those in power. To share this activity seemed to threaten the professional bureaucrats who were traditionally tasked with this activity. They seemed to fear that they were losing their main job and their power. In such a stimulating collaborative space, the governing processes were maximised as network actors reached out to each other on the basis of resource exchange and capacity.

From power dependency theory and the exchange theory perspectives, I examined whether there were public authorities whose control over resourcing rules and resources flow enabled them to structure the resulting network either to their specific advantage or for the general good. Where collaboration emerges from a situation of actors with divergent interests and experiences of past antagonism, which Skelcher and Sullivan (2008, p.267) describe as a case of “divergent interest and a history of antipathy”. However, the KKC case demonstrates also that “new resource stream can have the effect of motivating a realignment of interest towards a more collaborative stance.”

A transformational enactment perspective is also useful here as it focusses on the norms that were developed and the process by which they were institutionalized. In the KKC case the transformational performance of the local governance network had been driven more by normative forces linked to shared knowledge and local wisdom than by formal and explicit rules. In the KHKC case, the local governance network

was realised and a new mechanism evolved to institutionalize new rules about interactions to solve the tension between public sector and civil society associations over forest and environmental issues.

The sustainability of Collaborative Local Governance is essential for both achieving solutions to community environmental concerns that can endure. In the KKC case it took ten years to bridge the divide between the public sector and civil society and establish participation and collaboration needed for an effective governance network mechanism. However, the sustainability of the governance network approach was not only reliant on the institutionalisation of the structure, but also the acceptance by the network members of each other and the resources they each provided, as discussed above.

In brief, my research results suggest that we cannot use the terminology of network and collaboration interchangeably. The emergence of Collaborative Local Governance on the basis of structural change through the network-based form does not indicate and guarantee the effective functioning of governing processes in every circumstance. In contrast, the two case studies exemplify genuine differences. The evidence affirms the diversities in the ways the network governance can mature. As Koppenjan, Mandell, Keast and Brown (2010, p.305) argue, “the growing need for network governance doesn’t need imply that in practice it will be applied in identical ways, or that this application automatically will be successful”.

7.3 Explaining Practice under the CLG Approach through Comparison of Two Case Studies

In this section, I consider and attempt to explain the reasons for different outcomes from the two case studies. These different practices were interpreted within changes to context and structural and functional aspects of the CLG, as discussed in previous section. The process of changing relationships between the public sector and civil society is considered as the variant that determines such divergence in practices. In

particular, the conditions that impact interactions between network actors so that trust is established or lost are discussed.

7.3.1 Unpacking Relationships

Theme 4: *The Collaborative Local Governance mechanism creates collaborative space, and within that space the interactions appeared to affect the changing nature of the relationships between public sector and civil society.*

Following the earlier discussion on the elements of the CLG which covered context, network-based form and governing processes, and which highlighted the different practices and outcomes in the two case studies, this section aims to explain the divergence. It does this by considering the changing nature of the state and civil society relationships. The research evidence showed that the divergence reflected the complexity inherent in relationships between the state and civil society, as observed and documented in each case study. In particular, the data from both cases revealed the varying extent of social capital represented by the set of social resources that governance network actors from civil society associations brought into CLG. The governance network actors contributed their individual characteristics and resources to the governing process as mentioned in the previous sections and their specific contributions had a significant influence on the outcomes that resulted.

Local administrative systems in Thailand have been deliberately changed to pay attention to governing ‘by’ and ‘through’ network forms of collaboration in order to fashion changed relationships between the state and civil society. This conscious approach was designed to enable the proposed CLG approach to be broader in a way that goes beyond the instrumental, institutional and functional approaches previously utilised in order to facilitate a transition to Thai local governance characterised by “less government” and “more governance” (Rhode, 2007, p.134).

I will look at the different experiences within the relationships between state and civil society which had differing levels of effectiveness with regard to applying and fostering the development of local governance practices. The changing relationships

within CLG seem to be a critical component in the Thai context. Establishing effective changes in the relationships needs to be considered alongside changes to the contexts, forms, and processes so that a solid foundation can be laid for CLG. The shifting relationships between state and civil society were observed in two dimensions. Firstly, the research evidence from the two case studies demonstrated that there were different relationship outcomes. In one case the changing relationship was perceived to be an opportunity, and in the other case the changing relationship encouraged distrust and dispute. Secondly, in conjunction with re-positioning and re-structuring relationships, it was revealed that there were some prospects of effectiveness and democratic deepening, including building social capital and human capital from the changed relationships within the CLG environment.

Summary of two case studies

KKC Case Study

The research findings indicated that after establishing local governance network in KKC there were various positive directions in the relationship between state and civil society. The relationships were intentionally modified to support the CLG environment. The nature of those changes underpinned the reason why CLG was employed effectively in KKC. Moreover, the empirical data revealed that the changing relationship was dynamic and responded to changed conditions. Relationships moved forward and enabled further adaptation. The perceived positive direction of the relationships had a direct impact on the functioning of the governing process as discussed in the previous section.

To understand how the relationships altered under CLG, we need to track the interactions between governance network actors from state and civil society within the newly created collaborative space. Explaining the advantages and opportunities that governance network actors from both sectors pursued in order to collaborate more effectively can help with understanding how CLG can be strengthened in practice. In KKC, the collaborative space provided the opportunity for public authorities and civil society actors to interact and learn and, in turn, shape their relationship toward a new experience of collaboration. This experience is interpreted in two ways: re-positioning

and re-structuring relationships. Re-positioning involves outsiders becoming insiders, and re-structuring involves changes to the levels of social and human capital in civil society.

KHKC Case Study

The qualitative data demonstrated that the relationship between state and civil society was strained and tended toward conflict after the establishment of CLG in KKC. In general, the relationship involved serious tension. Local media was used by the civil society associations to reflect and express the confrontation between them and the state. The employment of the CLG approach was weak and easily broke apart when the changing context favoured the development of distrust. The research data highlight that the existing relationship of opposition between the state and civil society still remained when the CLG was started and continued with misunderstanding on both sides as discussed earlier (**pp**). The extent of resistance undermined the effectiveness of CLG in KHKC. The endeavour of collaborative efforts between the governance network actors entails adaptation and evolution through the fragmented stages of the governing process. Unlike the KKC case study, the interactions within collaborative space between public authorities and civil society actors were characterised by disputes. The critical relationships caused struggles in practice. The challenges associated with the changing nature of the relationships had important consequences for the effectiveness and democratic operation of the CLG. As in the KKC case, the uneasy practices in KHKC can also be interpreted in two ways: re-positioning and re-structuring relationships.

7.3.1.1 Explaining changing relationship through re-positioning

- *The step of outsiders becoming insiders*

In KKC case, the research data demonstrated that public authorities and civil society actors together took the step of forming a local governance network that re-positioned the basic relationships that previously had existed between them. When the CLG was formed, it served to cross the divide of the existing local administration sphere and the civil society sphere. This spanning allowed recruitment of CLG membership that facilitated social inclusion. The notification of civil society actors as insiders and

eligible for membership was extremely significant with regard to local administration boundary change and expansion across the sector. This process enhanced the democratic quality of CLG toward inclusion and participation. The public authorities and civil society actors needed to be aware of their new roles under the new relationships because the traditional hierarchical role of public authorities was that they formed the sole executive domain. The move towards horizontal roles challenged this position of the local administration. The outcome of the CLG formation in KKC was that the rules of the game and the game players changed. The outsiders were now insiders.

In KHKC, the research evidence reveals that there was an attempt to re-position the existing relationships between public authorities and civil society actors when they first began to form the CLG. However, the network narratives and claims that were put into action through the collaborative forum also occurred in parallel through discursive discussion in the local media. Since the form of governance network was fragile and loose, as discussed above (**pp**), the re-positioning process for relationships was questionable and was challenged by the civil society actors within the governing process. They wanted to see how honestly the public sector valued their presence in the collaborative space. The meaning assigned to occupying an insider position was related to the sincerity with which both parties perceived the dialogue to be expressed and heard.

In contrast with KKC, the bridging across the boundary between public and civil spheres was inadequate and incomplete in the KHKC case. Although the data indicated that civil society actors were counted as governance network members, the insider positions of civil society actors were still insecure and unreliable. This was because the membership was easily and deliberately suspended by civil society actors when they perceived that the public service was poor. Social inclusion appeared in governing process through the policy formulation stage with the participation in community forums and meetings. The civil society actors were informed and invited to participate as network members. However, the civil society actors performed during the policy implementation stage in a mixed manner, which sometimes involved

parallel provision and sometimes involved co-production. The separate and repeated voluntary provision from civil society actors resulted in disputes and intolerance of relationships between them and the public sector. The antagonistic positioning by civil society actors remained unchanged. This situation ultimately led to insufficient re-positioning of the civil society and state within the relationships and led to ineffectiveness of CLG.

- *The rules of game and the role as a partner*

In KKC, the qualitative research data generated from in-depth interviews and observation indicated that although the local governance network actors acknowledged other members from different sectors as partners, there were still no clear rules and roles at play. This was particularly relevant with respect to the interactions that took place in the collaborative space. Interestingly, the data illustrated that local governance network then adopted the Thai social norms such as seniority and *kleng jai* (meaning literally ‘fear heart’ – to give way) These and a multitude of other unwritten rules were used to avoid confrontation and tension. As perceived by Klausner (2000, p.253), the main public behaviour of Thai people has a tendency to involve concealed manners and this behaviour was heavily influenced by Buddhist philosophy “on the avoidance of emotional extremes, commitment and confrontation”. Consequently, it is predictable that when the rules of governing were not clear or stated explicitly, the culture of obligation came into at play. The social status especially of each governance network actor was strongly presented through the way they addressed each other. The combination of social power structure and authorities’ power is complex but not complicated and it can in part be explained by the fact that every member in the governance process had known each other before and to some extent had an existing interpersonal link. Therefore, the CLG forum appropriately employed and blended the social system into the complexity of governance network processes.

Re-positioning member status altered the relationship between state and civil society from one that previously involved the members functioning separately to one that was characterised by inclusively working together. It would be seem that the changing

governing process was influencing ideas about who should do what and whether they should do it equally in this new way of working.

The previous sections indicated that the changing nature of local governance, in relation to new norms, new network forms and new governing processes, was the consequence of changing relationships between the public sector and civil society toward network forms of collaboration. However, in these changing relationships, the variations of rules and the differently oriented approaches of ‘differentiated but equal partners’, or ‘co- producer positions’, between key governance network actors still remain uncertain. The insider position of civil society members might ensure that they have a place but it does not guarantee meaningful interactions between them and the public network actors within CLG. Collaborative effort needs to be put into place that ensures the value of contributions from both sectors. In the KKC case, such meaningful interaction occurred and was illustrated by the high level of autonomy and participation in collaborative activities. The governance network actors from both sectors enjoyed and appreciated collaborative efforts from others during the interactions that occurred in the governing process. These positive experiences of the network insiders enabled them to take joint responsibility for their local affairs. Across both sectors the approaches adopted in the CLG were adapted and the collaborative advantage was maintained through successive issues that were addressed in KKC.

On the contrary, in KHKC the empirical data demonstrate that the rules and roles of the governance network were excessively dominated by the public sector due to the origin of the CLG design. The authoritative bureaucracy system was employed as the tentative ‘rules of the game’ within the CLG approach. Under that public administration dominated rule, the role of CLG members was shaped on the basis of unequal partners. The dominant role of the public sector constituted the predominant characteristic of the governance network. This result aligns with and confirms the conceptual consideration proposed by Murray (2010) on dominant roles in the operation of governance networks. The data also indicated the superior-inferior relationship within KKC which was explicitly perceived by the civil society

associations. This led to resistance and the suspension of collaborative effort by the civil society actors when they observed their position as a subordinate role rather one of equal partnership within CLG. Consequently, the effectiveness of CLG was undermined by the superior-inferior relationship. The re-positioning relationship in KHKC failed to effectively enhance the function of CLG and was in contrast to the KKC case where the civil society members considered themselves to be equal partners with a high autonomy level.

7.3.1.2 Explaining changing relationship through re-structuring

There are two key explanations for the different outcomes related to re-structuring relationships in the two case studies. These explanations involve the level of social capital that civil society actors collectively contributed, and the level of human capital that the civil society actors individually contributed. In particular, the human capital could be seen in terms of the abilities that individuals possessed that allowed them to make appropriate contributions to the collaborative forum.

- *The level of social capital in civil society*

In KKC, the empirical evidence demonstrates that there were challenges and opportunities in re-structuring the relationship between the state and civil society from the vertical chain of command and control towards horizontal ties of collaboration. Although the public sector encouraged the new norm of democratic governance involving participation and accountability, it relied heavily on being regulation driven. The data reveal that the establishment of CLG in KKC through sponsorship intervention in a specific period of time helped to stimulate the restructuring process towards a more horizontal relationship between state and civil society. The restructuring process was joined with the governing process as it developed over time. Social capital in KKC was interpreted in terms of the collective social life that allowed the participants to collaborate more effectively, which aligns with the work by Putnam (1993). The collaboration in turn facilitated learning processes and allowed a joint vision of the projects by calling on the strong bonds of kinship that are typically characteristic of Thai villages and Asian communities. The Khao Khok Community Forrest Conservation Network (KKCFNC) as the leading civil society

association in KKC, continually developed their own capacity building with support from NGO funding and the business sector, to promote local wisdom and sustainability. The high level of social capital represented by the civil society associations and community in KKC were fully distributed to enable an effective governing process at the stage of resources exchange. The strengthening of civil society capacity, which in turn it facilitated and added to social capital, occurred in KKC when the situations and interactions between governance network actors were re-adjusted and adapted following intervention from the NGO that provided action research funding to the civil society association. This sponsorship intervention endorsed and strengthened the CLG approach by re-structuring the power structure and shifted the civil society role for it to become the dominant one. It also acted to seal the long term relationship of civil society collaborating with the public sector. As extensively discussed earlier, this intervention increased the value and extent of the social capital that civil society represented in CLG. The action research on history and participation of community in community forest management not only increased the local knowledge but provided the collaborative activities for governance network actors to work together under a different environment outside of officialdom.

Unlike the KKC case, the research findings in KHKC demonstrate that there were unbalanced efforts with regard to re-structuring relationships between state and civil society from vertical to horizontal relationships through the CLG approach. As the re-structuring relationships took place alongside with the governing process, the uneasy outcomes of changing relationships interconnected with the intense consequences of the governing process.

There was distinct similarity with the KKC case when the social capital was interpreted in KHKC in terms of collective social relations between individuals who actively cooperated with one another towards a common goal. However, the social relations differed from the basis of kinship which was evident in KKC because it was based and organised around strong bonds of comradeship through the exercise of the Padam Forest Protection Network (PFPN), as the prominent civil society association in KHKC. This civil society association was originally supported and strengthened by

a NGO through the Social Investment Project, similar to the assistance that was provided in the KKC case.

Aside from the fragile relationship with the public sector already mentioned, the civil society association reinforced their social networking with local media and other civil associations outside the area. The capacity building of the civil society association was continued through learning associated with performing their regular operations, although this occurred without appropriate training or an organisation development programme. The empirical data show that although physical and emotional labours were invested deeply, the social capital level was moderate and this hindered the restructuring of the relationships. The modest level of social capital directly affected the resource exchange between the governance network actors in the governing process because the resource interdependency was acting through the power structure (Rhodes, 2007). The intense interactions between public authorities and civil society actors were the response to undervalued and unevenly distributed levels of social capital within civil society. As a result, it led to the ineffectiveness in collaboration with public authority was the case within the CLG.

- *The level of human capital on collaboration ability*

Alongside the importance of collective social capital, human capital played a major role and was instrumental in influencing the CLG outcomes. In this instance, human capital is interpreted as the abilities that an individual actor actually possesses (Lin, 2001). The civil society actors contributed their resources and interests to the governing process and this played a significant role in changing state and civil society relationships

In KKC, although the evidence revealed that there was a collaborative pattern of interactions between governance network actors across the sectors closer attention needs to be given to what the individuals were actually doing so as to understand their ability to facilitate and operate together within CLG. The ability of each governance network actor from both sectors to contribute could be observed through the communication protocols that were observed within the governing process. The

public authorities participated in the governing process as obligated compulsory actors and they behaved in the same manner that was customary for officialdom even though they acknowledged that they performed under a different environment within CLG. The public authorities took an active and privileged role as the host in the community forums by employing dialogue strategies that encouraged but also controlled in collaborative events. The public authorities formally invited the civil society actors to participate and the civil society actors did so actively and with enthusiasm. They had a lot to say and freely expressed their opinions and interests. Further to this they expected to see their ideas and opinions to be noted by the forum record and to be put in community visions and plans, as discussed in Chapter 5. The ability of civil society actors to voice their opinions to public authorities was generally achieved with only a moderate level of skill in a public forum, but a few key members of the community participated with great skill. Those people were the community leaders and they were experienced at participating as elected members of Tambon Community Council and official working groups. I consider that the ability of civil society actors interrelated with the past experience of working with the public sector and this enabled them to use and understand the language of officialdom and policy terms such as vision, mission, plan and planning. Therefore, their understandings of the objective of the event were distinct and they could make it relevant to their own objectives as representatives of civil society organisations. As a result, the common goals shared by the public authorities and civil society associations were met by the high levels of ability of dominant actors from civil society acting as collaboration brokers to overcome constraints and barriers presented by the official language and rituals employed. In contrast to the abilities demonstrated by the civil society actors, there was a distinct lack of collaborative ability in the public sector. This was acknowledged but was sheltered by the successful work of collaboration broker. The matter was also evident during the intervention of the NGO. It enabled and empowered the civil society actors to dominate as the leaders and hosts of collaborative activities and collaborative spaces. Unsurprisingly, the majority of participants in the NGO supported action projects were from the leading civil society association. Nevertheless, the governance network actors from public sector joined in as the purposfull participants in these projects.

The data show the high level of autonomy that civil society enjoyed in the interactions associated with these sponsored projects, and in the absence of a frame of bureaucratic rules was greatly appreciated. These projects also led to trust building over time between governance network actors. The interactions combined the limited abilities and pooled the resources from each actor, to share and to learn and pursue common goals for the community and its livelihood. Although this involved a deep transformation of traditional relationship on community forest management, the network actors valued the outcomes and this sustained the governance network form. The network functioned in this instance as a stimulus mechanism for innovative capacity in Thai local governance. The sponsorship introduced by the NGO represented an innovative intervention and seemed to build trust and therefore operated in the way Klijn (2010) describes when he suggests that the innovative ability of networks and partnerships depends on effective knowledge sharing and the existence of trust.

Unlike KKC, the empirical evidence demonstrates that there was a critically low human capital level attached to the civil society actors who individually contributed in KHKC. When the public authorities took the active role as the host in the community forum and meetings, the civil society actors participated in the events with good intentions but doubtful attention as discussed earlier. The re-structuring of relationships in KHKC was compromised by the limited human capital. The ability of the civil society actors to voice their ideas and opinion was restricted and was orchestrated under their historical connection to the brotherhood developed when they were comrades in the Communist Party prior to forming the forest conservation group. In fact, the civil society contributors to the communication process exhibited an aggressive approach to the dialogue and it lacked valid collaborative intent. The exchanges signified a lack of collaborative ability and an inability to effectively communicate one's knowledge and perspective to another to encourage ways of working together.

Also in contrast to the KKC case, there was a lack of genuine collaborative brokers who could trade and facilitate the re-structuring relationships in the KHKC case. Although some civil society actors had experience in working with, and understanding of the public sector as elected members of Tambon/Community Council and official working groups, they could not advance themselves to perform a role of collaborative broker. Therefore, when the lack of collaboration ability of civil society actors and public authorities combined, in the absence of collaboration broker the re-structuring of relationships towards horizontal relationships was ineffective. Overall, in KHKC the unproductive character of the re-structuring of relationships rested on two issues: the moderate level of social capital that civil society actors collectively contributed, and the low level of human capital for collaborative ability that the individual civil society actors contributed.

To sum up, the relationships between state and civil society were constructed through the interactions between governance network actors and depended on the quality of the dialogue strategy employed and meaningful collaborative effort. The empirical evidence from the two case studies reflected different pre-relationships that influenced the adapted relationships that developed through the practice of the CLG. The changed relationships were shaped through two methods: re-positioning and re-structuring relationships.

Firstly, the repositioning involved the shift in position of civil society actors from outsiders to become insiders and therefore toward an inclusive and participatory approach. The research evidence demonstrates that when the re-positioning relationship was successful as occurred in the KKC case, it allowed the CLG to act as a bridge across the divide. This result is consistent with Bodin and Crona (2009) who contributed to the discussion on the relational pattern in natural resource governance. In addition, the recognition of civil society actors as equal partners and co-producers was significant with regard to re-positioning relationships. This was related to the perception that the civil society actors developed about their role in the governing process, which also affected their decision to effectively participate in collaborative

activities. Therefore, the recognition of being equal partners and not subordinates was a key variation that helps explain the different outcomes from the two case studies.

Secondly, it is necessary to pursue and to promote greater social capital and human capital in the process of re-structuring relationships. The research findings confirm the significance of social capital in the level of effectiveness of government as described by Putnam (1993) based on Coleman's work (1988). Putnam argues that the establishment of social capital is "self-reinforcing and cumulative", and is one of the key preconditions for effective government aside from economic development. It is therefore necessary to consider and acknowledge the level of social capital that civil society associations bring to CLG approaches. Therefore, if we would like to create effective CLG, we should support and strengthen civil society associations in increasing their level of social capital and in doing so, ultimately the relationship between state and civil society will be positively altered, toward a more effective governing process.

I consider that the imbalance of abilities needs to be consciously and deliberately addressed and modified through the capacity building programme for public sector and civil society associations to impart greater skills that make one capable of contributing to the CLG. Ideally, the abilities in both sector would be balanced and equilibrium could be reached through shared the contributions of each sector. To achieve this equilibrium the role and skill of public authorities needs to be shifted, from being focussed on the role of 'host' for the event to being facilitators and brokers who trade ideas and opinions from other sectors. This process requires altering the mindset, to remove the impediments of officialdom and establish a new attitude. This would foster flexibility and sharing across the sectors, and shift the fear of losing power to the satisfactions in collaboration under a long term relationship between state and civil society. Alongside the shift in public sector mindset, it would seem that the collaborative capacity building is needed for both sectors.

Ultimately, the lessons from two case studies for re-positioning and re-structuring relationships toward the horizontal and collaboration, provides a valuable explanation as to why the different outcomes from the governing process occurred. It also enables us to recognize the significance of pre-conditions that might impact on the level of understanding of the governance network actors from both sectors. The understanding of both parties in turn affects the functioning of the governing process under the CLG environment. The next section, addresses the conditions that might enable social capital and human capital to strengthen and encourage genuine social inclusion, democratic quality and increased participation.

7.3.2 Unpacking the Conditions

Theme 5: *Trust, trust building and past experience are critical factors that support the effective collaboration between network actors through learning and adaptation processes.*

The previous sections suggested that particular conditions that existed when CLGs were implemented determined the effectiveness of collaboration between the governance network actors. Those conditions continued to be important as activity took place within the scope of the CLG. My interpretation of the research data is that the most significant condition was related to the level of trust that existed between the network actors and that the level trust to some extent influenced by existing relationships and previous experiences of working together. This section considers the level of trust, the process of trust building, and the past working experiences of the network actors.

Key conditions influenced the ‘bridging’ across the public sector and civil society associations. Considering these conditions enables us to us to interpret the ‘bonding’ merit of collaborative efforts. Collaborative efforts are central to the effectiveness in CLG. As such, they lead to the modification of interactions which are intended to generate and deliver collaborative outcomes from the governing process. A positive experience in changing perceptions and interactions toward ideal conditions increases collaborative performance and effectiveness of the CLG. This assumption encourages

an alteration in thinking and in working differently through collaborative interactions to hasten and sustain ideal conditions.

The research findings from the two case studies demonstrate the various levels of trust, the different outcomes from the trust building process, and the different impact of past working experience between public sector and civil society associations. The fundamental issue of trust can be considered as the crucial variable for modern Thai localities, trust embodies the transformation in values and attitudes related to the democratic quality of governance which challenges the restraints and conventions of bureaucracy. In addition, the empirical evidence from the two case studies confirms the significance of particular conditions by clarifying the interconnectedness of those conditions with participation and communication. The results were consistent throughout the quantitative and qualitative data generated from questionnaires, interviews and observations in both cases. Firstly, there was a high correlation between level of trust and the level of participation. Secondly, there was a correlation between the level of trust, trust building and the quantity and quality of communication processes. This research argues for establishing trust that increases the meaningfulness and quality of communications within CLGs.

7.3.2.1 Trust in the Two Case Studies

To comprehend the trust level in the CLG, we need to consider the role of trust at play within other elements, including contextual influence, network-based form, governing process and relationships between public sector and civil society associations.

The discussion in Chapter 4 on the historical analysis and the origin of governance discourse in Thailand suggested that the trust issue was largely absent under the existing state of limited political expression. The role of the public sector by way of purposive institution was characterised as a powerful and closed domain equipped with officialdom and profession, while the civil society associations were characterised as low impact units with regard to their role, responsibility and ability to govern local affairs. However, the document research data demonstrate that the public sector dominance was challenged and questioned on the matter of corruption in

relation to trust and trust building. This circumstance was maximised through the implementation of the good governance concept by increasing the participation and accountability at the local level, as empirical findings from two case studies illustrate. The levels of trust and mutuality between two sectors were progressively developed through the new regulations and guidelines under administration reforms influenced by democratic governance concepts and the strengthening programme from the NGO in the civil society sector. Both these aspects led to the foundation of the local governance network in the two case studies.

The research findings from two case studies highlight the consistency of data generated on levels of trust with quantitative data from questionnaires and qualitative data from interview and observation. This consistency of data reveals the role of trust, which explains the divergent outcomes in the practice of CLG. In KKC, the level of trust between governance actors from both sectors was generally high. The majority of research participants used the term trust interchangeably with “honest” and “sincere” during the interview process. The research data signify the high level of trust and mutuality in terms of network-based forms through the acknowledgement and appreciation of the strong connections that transformed the social network into a governance network which empowered them to take direct responsibility for their own affairs as these related to environmental policy. This acknowledgement of governance network membership by both sectors led to the collaborative functioning of the governing process. These high trust levels led to the mutuality, reciprocity and high level of understanding between governance network actors which in turn led to the effective collaboration under CLG. The high level of trust also had a high impact on the changing relationships between the public sector and civil society by mediating the re-positioning of relationships with a strong fabric of trust and empowering the re-structure of relationships with strong social capital and human capital. Ultimately, the enabling role of trust allows and supports the process of shifting from government to governance under the effective CLG approach in KKC.

Conversely, the research evidence from KHKC case study demonstrates the lower level of trust between governance network actors. Most of the participants from the

public sector were concerned about the way trust was made to be an issue and discussed publicly in the local media. The attention from the media built up pressure and made it critical that there was transparency and accountability in the public sector. The majority of local news relating to environment concerns were expressed and distributed by civil society actors. Their voice informally created attention that focussed on the dissatisfaction of the regular provision of service by the public sector. At the same time, the increased public awareness led to support for an increased role for civil society in governance change.

The research data indicate that under the lower level of trust, the applying of CLG was insufficient. The linkage between public sector and civil society under the network-based form seemed fragile when the state of trust was actively challenged by civil society actors and there was scepticism towards collaboration. The loose link of governance network accompanied with lower level of trust led to fragmented and ineffective collaboration between the governance network actors in functioning of the governing process. This situation disrupted the reinforcement of affirmative collaboration. The lower level of trust also adversely affected the re-positioning and re-structuring of relationships between both sectors because it weakened social capital and human capital.

7.3.2.2 The correlation of level of trust and level of participation

The research findings from two case studies suggest a relationship between the level of trust and level of participation. This relationship is correlative. On the one hand, in the case when the level of trust was high, the participation was high, on the other hand, when the level of trust was lower, the level of participation was lower. In KKC, the data demonstrates clearly a high correlation between level of trust and the level of participation. The data generated from the in-depth interviews reveal that the research participants understood that trust was related to participation when one perceived the other actors from different sectors as network members and partners. The high trust level in their partner group led to active participation in the governing process. This can be partly explained: The high degree of trust affected the mutual understanding and reciprocal manner of participative actions and collaborative efforts to influence

and involve others in policy processes, and this went well beyond the low levels of participation of the information and consultation stages. This research data on the relationship between trust level and participation level aligns with the findings from quantitative research using a correlation matrix approach as conducted by Mizrahi et al (2009). In contrast, the research conducted by Damrong (2006), generated from self-reporting by local governments showed that there was a high level of effectiveness of local administration with low trust level and moderate level of public satisfaction. However, my research finding from KKC case study illustrates the high effectiveness of modern CLG correlates to high levels of trust and high levels of participation.

On the contrary, evidence from KHKC case illustrates the different traits, but the same traces of correlation of trust level and participation level. The data show that low level of trust paralleled the lower degree of participation. The interpretation of participants' interactions suggest that we recognize that the lower degree of trust led to misunderstandings, with sceptical and resistant mindsets impeding the governance network actors participation and for some to suspend their involvement. This finding confirmed that the level of participation is significantly related and directly affected by the degree of trust.

Trust, Trust Building and Communication

The empirical data from the two case studies suggest that state of trust in the CLG could be modified and built up through communication processes. In KKC, the high level of trust was sustained through trust building activities which took place in a communicative setting introduced through a dialogue strategy that was utilised within the governing process. The dialogue strategy was employed for creating the opportunity and encouraging the vigorous patterns of active participation needed for governance network actors to voice their opinions and to express their ideas. At the same time, the strategy allowed the network actors to take issue and to resolve tensions during their conversations. Issues were addressed and resolved within the sessions. However, there were some issues that remained unresolved and were carried outside the forum setting. When such an issue occurred, the civil society leader as a

collaborative broker acted to clear up the situation by using the existing social relations. This pattern of response seemed to imply that the process of trust building required the formal and informal communicative references within the CLG. Dissimilar to KKC, the research findings highlight the lower level of trust that continued with inadequate trust building activities in KHKC. The inadequate trust building activities produced mistrust rather than improving the level of trust. Although, the public sector created the collaborative settings for applying the dialogue strategy, the negative outcomes discouraged greater participation needed. The governance network actors generally dealt with the tensions within the trust building process not only in the face-to-face dialogue setting but also in the delivery of local media broadcasts via local and national newspaper and local radio programmes. The trust issue escalated to challenging of the accuracy and reliability in the information both sectors provided in the collaborative space. The difficulties compounded all the more in the absence of a collaborative broker at points when communication seemed to break down.

In addition, the data from case studies suggest that the practices of communication for building up the degree of trust involved two way communications characterised by respect and honesty. Respect and honesty were the key elements that enabled harmony within the conversations without which the trust building exercises would have failed. The degree of connectedness as interpreted through the frequency of communications was less significant than the perceived value, quality and content of the communication process. The finding from KKC shows that the high quality of processes of communication increased the effectiveness of the trust building and sustained high levels of trust. This finding does not correspond to Krauss et al (2009) who point to the requirement for “more dense contact” by which they mean increased quantity of communication (2009, p9). Rather, the research findings from KKC suggest that the relationships between trust building and communication should go through ‘deep’ and meaningful processes to enable effective implementation of the CLG approach.

Trust, Trust building and Past Experiences

The findings from both case studies suggest that during the process of trust building direct feedback on the outcomes from each significant experience was necessary to enhance the trust level. Such feedback is critical as part of a pathway to effective implementation of the CLG. Previous experience related to establishing the conditions of trust was a strong determinant of how effectively feedback processes supported the CLG. The research showed that past experience could be harnessed to provide the possibility of breaking down old barriers and adjusting the requirements to enable positive further interactions. However, past experience could also be a barrier that prevented positive interaction.

In KKC, the research demonstrated that past experience related to whether individual participants felt accepted and established as legitimate contributors was a condition which had a significant effect on trust issues during the implementation of the CLG. It was evident that the nature of prior experiences and existing relationships affected the course of interactions between the governance network actors. Learning and adaptation processes came into play with regard to modifying and enhancing effective implementation of the CLG. The evidence revealed that to some extent past experience was repeated, without learning and adapting attitudes. The participants kept using the same rigid bureaucratic mindset produced by the public authorities. However, with learning it was also possible to modify the mindset towards new attitudes that could unlock the ability to think and act differently. The modification of restrictive past experience transformed undesirable experiences into positive ones that encouraged continued collaborative effort. This circumstance contributed significantly to the effectiveness of the CLG.

In contrast to KKC the KHKC situation revealed the possibility for past experience of undesired outcomes to act as constraints and blockades rather than catalysts for learning and so preventing effective CLG. To overcome that barrier, new capability building is a requirement. Such capability building would focus on building and bridging social capital and human capital into both sectors in order to enhance the effectiveness and democratic prospect of the CLG.

7.4 Emerging Tentative Conceptual Framework of local governance toward network governance approach

The conceptual framework shown in the diagram below was created as a potential option of democratic local governance approach which might be appropriate for Thai contexts as the roots of such approach originated from Western aspirational concepts. The framework has been developed based on this research data and as such is limited in scope. Nevertheless, despite the limitations the framework is significant in that it draws directly from Thailand experiences of governance at a grassroots level.

Collaborative Local Governance: Principles and Process

Collaboration is the fundamental building block and key principle of engaging civil society in governing process within local policy process. The collaboration in the two case studies, in term of institutional form, was network based form which exposed the changing boundary between public and civil spheres. Policy, as the outcome from collaboration, can be adjusted through a collaborative network dynamic in relation to negotiation. Experience of the collaborative interactions as a learning process allows flexibility and complexity within the network arrangement and allows it to function within its own capacity. This means that effective network arrangements and effective collaboration involve learning and adaptive process. In particular, it acknowledges the conditions and complexity of particular contexts. As such, network arrangement in a Thai context governance involve collaboration that is contextualised to the local conditions.

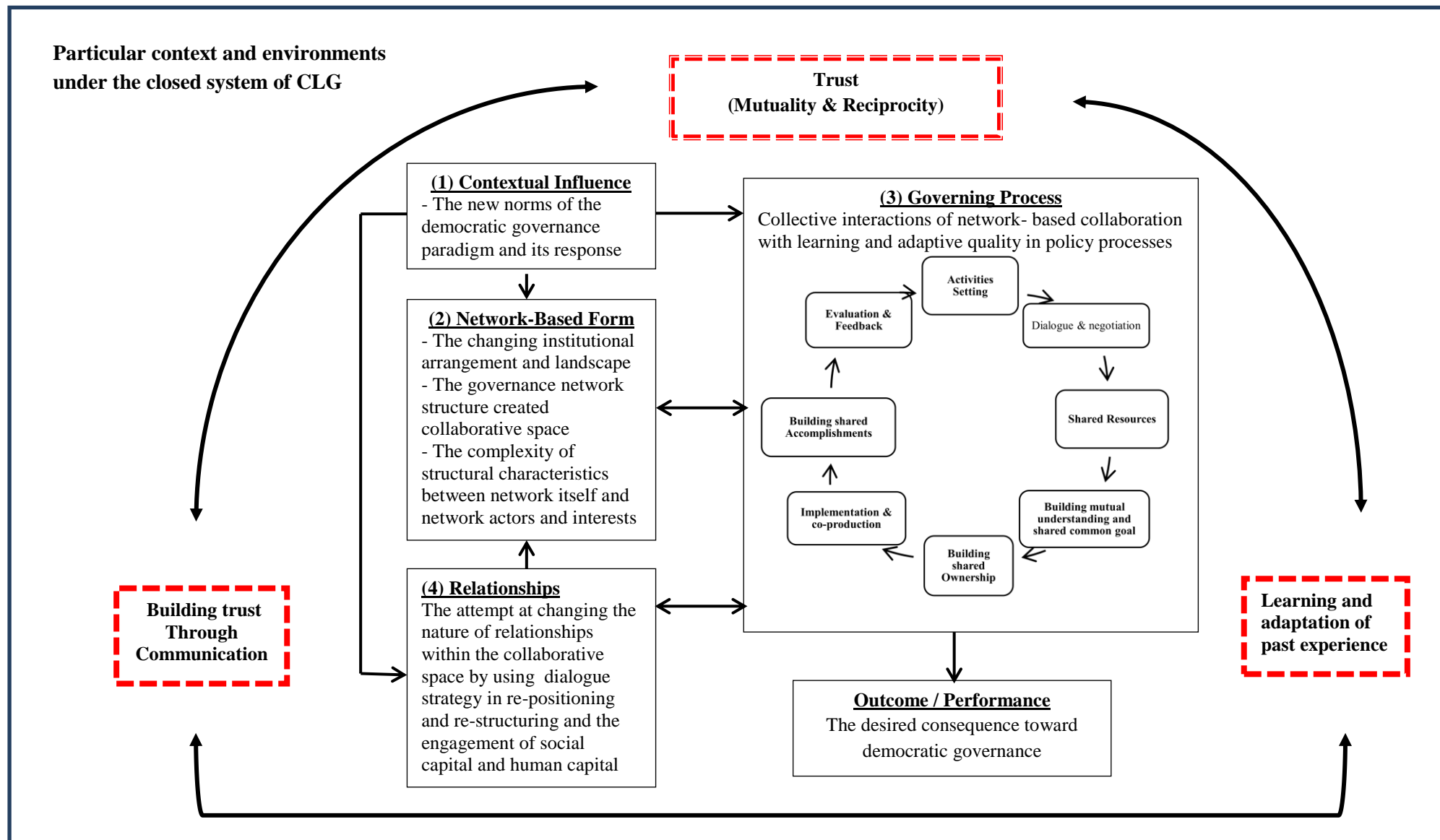
Collaboration Capacity and Skills

The productivity of a network arrangement relies heavily on the how network actors perform. A useful framework, therefore, needs to consider the human resource contributions from both public and social sectors alongside the existing governance systems and their management. It should explicitly incorporate and acknowledge human factors and provide for capacity building that develops the new capacities and new skills appropriate to the new ways of doing that are associated with an innovation. This would include new skills associated with participating in and

contributing to a CLG together with skills required to make assured judgments within that forum. In this new framework, human factors involve initially a need to understand and establish a mindset of agreement that there is a better way of performing that involves moving toward a network governance approach.

Figure 7.5: The emerging of tentative conceptual framework of Collaborative Local Governance (CLG)

Source: Author's own work



Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This research addresses the theoretical and practical interpretations of governance in the context of local Thai communities. The research is oriented towards understanding ways that network-based transformative processes initiated by public administration reform at a national level have affected governance of environmental issues at a local level. The contention made at the start of this research that concepts derived from western cases concerning western experience of governance have limited relevance to Thai and Asian contexts is borne out by the research findings. The conclusions drawn in this research about local governance are supported by research findings developed from documentary analysis and empirical research that was undertaken in two communities in different local contexts in Thailand. The research provides a significant contribution to governance study in theory and practice for Thailand in particular. It has revealed prominent shifts in local governance by addressing the tension between the state centric and the social centric under the democratic governance paradigm to provide insights otherwise hidden amidst the complexity and inconsistencies of development at the local level.

This chapter provides a set of conclusions derived from the previous discussion chapter and demonstrates the significant contribution of this research. It integrates and synthesizes the main research findings and directly addresses the research aim and research objectives that were formulated to inform this research. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section links the research aim, objectives and questions to the key research findings and conclusions that emerged from the discussion chapter. The second section affirms the contribution to knowledge of this research. The third section offers the broader implications of the study and includes policy and practical recommendations. The fourth section acknowledges the

limitations of the research, and the final section recommends directions subjects for future research.

8.2 Linking Research Aim, Key Research Findings and the Conclusions from the Research Discussion

The aim of this research, as stated in Chapter 1, was to understand the evolution of governance mode at local level against the background of global trends, global influence and the changing nature of interactions between public authorities and civil society actors in Thailand. This research aim led to two main research objectives:

- 1) To examine the global theoretical background and local practice on governance concepts from Thai experience
- 2) To develop data-driven conceptual and practical insights for improving local governance appropriate to the Thai context

To address the research aim and research objectives, the following research question was formed: “*What the impact of changing governance concepts and approaches on the interaction between public authorities and civil society actors at the local community in Thailand?*”

Additionally, a series of research sub-questions were formulated to guide the way the research was undertaken and to address more specifically the different dimensions of the interactions between the public and civil spheres. A documentary analysis using a normative and historical approach was conducted and followed up with empirical work involving a case study approach using ethnographic techniques. In-depth interviews, survey and observation methods were employed to generate the data in two case studies and the emerging themes from that data were discussed in the prior chapter. This section considers the research sub-questions in relation to the interactions between the public authorities and the civil society actors, as elucidated in the prior chapter. Table 8.1 links the research sub-questions to the key research findings and the themes that emerge from those findings. The final column in the table presents the conclusions that I have drawn. for each question.

Table 8.1: A summary of emerging themes and key research finding regarding sub research questions and its conclusions

Research Sub-Questions	Key Research Findings	Emerging Themes	Conclusions
a) How does the context of existing Thai governance approaches influence local governance practice?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A transformation of local administration in Thailand was directly influenced by global pressure to adopt good governance principles in the globalisation era. • Thai Public Administration Reform was strongly associated with the good governance and New Public Management paradigms which both originated from western ideas. • Western contexts do not directly duplicate the unique Thai context. • At the national level, Thailand struggled to interpret and employ the good governance concept in practice through universal legislative and administrative mechanisms. • Local public authorities adopted the new administrative style by following a mechanistic approach and using network based forms to promote good governance. • Civil society associations were strengthened throughout Thailand under the Social Investment Project (SIP). • Civil society associations endorsed civic rights and actively participated in the network forms although they retained their 	<p><u>Contextual Influence</u></p> <p>The contextual factors directly and indirectly influenced a shift in Thai local administration that implied a move from “government” towards “governance” .</p>	<p>* Contextual influence is important.</p> <p>* Global and national contextual factors significantly influenced the course of changes in the Thai governance movement at a local level.</p> <p>* The local context variation was important for explaining the performance and outcomes of the transformative local governance processes.</p>

	traditional local attitudes and beliefs which acted as constraints.		
<p>b) What changes in governance structures have resulted from the interaction between public authorities and civil society?</p> <p>c) Who are included in changing governance structures and why were they included?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The local governance structure altered from being solely within the domain of public authorities to the formation of network-based forms that included civil society. Network forms involved institutional change in practice to create collaborative space which led the local administrative system to be more open, more inclusive and more responsive. The formation stage of the network-based arrangements was different in each case but there were some common elements. The important similarities involved the motivation to form the network, the official mandate that formally validated the network structure, the high degree of acceptance of the network membership, and the acknowledgement and appreciation of diversity in the network structures. The major differences involved the role of sponsorship in the network development, the level of formality, and the quality of connectedness. 	<p><u>Governance Form:</u> Thai local governance structure evolved towards a network-based form, which involved actors from the public sector and invited representatives of civil society associations. The new form allowed a collaborative space to be constituted.</p>	<p>* Networks can play a significant role in the changing local governance structure.</p> <p>*Governance network membership should consist of a combination of actors from public sector and civil society associations.</p> <p>*The governance networks perform as a provider of collaborative space that enables boundary spanning between the public and civil spheres.</p> <p>*There is a need for increased participation in local governance systems but there is not one ‘best’ way to form networks to ensure that the participation occurs.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance networks are complex owing to the combination of member characteristics and the different orientations and interests characteristic of each sector. • Network structures were institutionalised by normative force and sponsorship linked to shared resources. • The new structure of governance networks created the bridging opportunities, for public authorities and civil society to work together but the network based forms did not guarantee the collaboration between the network actors. 		<p>*Governance networks need to acknowledge complexity by being responsive to the different interests of the participants.</p>
d) What governing processes are associated with the function of the changing governance structures?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance network actors made collaborative efforts within the governing process that involved negotiation and communication. • The nature of governing processes changed within a collaborative space towards a more open mode and a participatory approach. • The changing nature of the governing process resulted in an iterative learning and adaptive process which led to further incremental changes. 	<p><u>Governing Process</u></p> <p>The process of governing was dramatically shaped through negotiations and collaborative efforts of network actors in both sectors.</p>	<p>*The governance network as a new structure enables new governing processes involving collaboration.</p> <p>*Collaborative efforts through negotiation and co-implementation enable shared ownership of outcomes.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The quantitative and qualitative data on participation and collaboration differed and reflected the complexity and divergence of practice and outcomes. • The interaction in the resources exchange process was critical and determined the continuity and sustainability of collaborative efforts between network actors. • Effective collaboration led to shared understanding, shared ownership, co-implementation, and shared accomplishment. • There was tension and resistant behaviours between governance network actors during the governing process. 		<p>*The governing processes are inseparable from the governance structures that enable them but cannot be assumed to automatically have a collaborative function.</p> <p>*Collaborative processes need to be actively ignited and supported.</p>
e) How do involved actors in changing governance structures connect with each other within and across their sector and in what way?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The relationships between the public sector and civil society were changing in two ways: re-positioning and re-structuring. • The re-positioning process involved the invitation to civil society actors as the outsiders becoming insiders or partners. 	<p><u>Relationships</u></p> <p>The Collaborative Local Governance mechanism creates collaborative space, and within that space the interactions appeared to affect the changing nature of the relationships between public sector and civil society.</p>	<p>*Relationships between key actors in Collaborative Local Governance are critical with regard to the effectiveness of local governance networks.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The re-structuring process related to changing the power imbalance toward horizontal and involved the social capital level and human capital level that civil society actors contributed to the governing process. • When there were no explicit rules and no clear roles in governing process, then existing forms of cultural institution and social power come into at play. • The process of changing relationships was perceived differently in the two case studies: In one case it was seen as an opportunity and in the other it was seen as threatening. • The changing relationships demonstrated the prospects of democratic deepening toward an inclusive and participatory approach. • The social capital and human capital were recognised as valuable assets that can be capitalised and circulated through the network governance approach. • Collaboration brokers played an important role in overcoming the constraints and barriers between governance network actors. 		<p>*Effective relationships re-position the civil society actors alongside the public sector as insiders/partners.</p> <p>*Repositioning in this way supports restructuring that enables civil society actors to contribute their social and human capital.</p> <p>*The investment in social capital and human capital constituted the effective outcomes in the Collaborative Local Governance.</p> <p>*It is necessary to balance relationships toward horizontal by strengthening social capital and human capital, so that re-positioning and res-structuring processes can be effective.</p> <p>*Effective processes constitute the successful inclusive governance forms and collaborative governing processes.</p>
--	---	--	--

f) What are the influences on, the governance mechanism and the relationship between public sector and civil society within changing governance structures and governing process?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a strong correlation between level of trust and the level of participation. • Trust was associated with the quantity and quality of communication. • The dialogue strategy was used to build trust to encourage meaningful communication. However, it required a collaborative broker to facilitate the communicative process. 	<u>Conditions</u> Trust, trust building and past experience are critical factors that support effective collaboration between network actors through learning and adaptation processes.	<p>*Effective relationships between the public and civil spheres involve effective collaborative performance which was recognized by both.</p> <p>*Trust levels, trust building and past experience provide the critical conditions that determine the success of collaborative efforts.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trust building required time and effort as it was a cumulative process. Inadequate trust building produced mistrust. • Positive experiences led to changing perception and continuing the collaboration. • Trust was grounded in historical relationships that were context dependent • Level of trust related to mutuality, reciprocity and appreciation of effort which led to the collaborative functioning of governing process. 		<p>*Level of trust indirectly influences the collective actions through participation by directly influencing the communication in changing relationships between public sector and civil society.</p> <p>*Trust empowers and strengthens the connection between public authorities and civil society actor in network based form.</p>

Source: Author's own work

8.2.1 Conclusion: The evolution of Thai Local Governance

While governance occurs at many levels, I contend that insufficient attention has been given to the space of governance relationships between the public sector and civil society at the local level. Collectively, the line of argument represented in the conclusion column of Table 8.1 provides a platform for considering local governance. This research reveals that the evolution of Thai local governance can be better understood by looking backward but it must also be proactive in engaging directly with democratization dilemmas. In particular, the conclusions relate to network forms and collaborative efforts in governance processes that have emerged as key features of local governance evolution. This institutional change implies a shift in structural design of governance from isolated traditional institutions to integrated institutional arrangements formatted as network structures. As such, the change represents a move that is characterised by ‘less government’ and ‘more governance’.

8.2.2 Emerging of Collaborative Local Governance (CLG)

Drawing from my research conclusions and the theoretical considerations introduced in earlier chapters I propose that ‘Collaborative Local Governance’ is a way of thinking about governance in local communities that appropriately recognises the significance of local contexts and, therefore, increases effectiveness and sustainability. Collaborative Local Governance (CLG) represents a tentative framework that describes and explains a transformed governance mechanism involving new structures and more importantly, new functioning of governing processes. CLG involves networked-based forms of associations that are characterised by inclusive, diverse structures which include collaborative spaces that allow genuine participation and enable value to be recognised and outcomes to be shared. The significance of CLG as a distinct paradigm is its emphasis on the ‘local’ and the need to appropriately incorporate the particular social conditions of each local context. This recognises the first (and perhaps the most important) conclusion of this research, that governance in local Thai communities is situation dependent and ‘one size does not fit all’. Additionally, the new structural form of CLG can be classified as a ‘governance

network' that is distinct from policy and other networks that exist in the community within governance systems.

The local governance networks studied here were formed through connections between the public sector and civil society associations, which in turn bridged social networks within the communities, though with uncertain outcomes. The network-based form functioned in the governing process through a mechanism based on attempted collaboration and collaborative effort. The most significant findings of this research related to the particular ways that public sector and civil society interacted in their efforts to work collaboratively. In order to be effective the interactions needed to represent a collaborative network arrangement in a process of 'Collaborative Local Governance'. The emphasis in such an arrangement is on the re-shaping of relationship processes in ways that signify a shift in power through the re-positioning and restructuring of power imbalances by strengthening social capital and human capital. The empirical evidence, significantly, reveals the complexity of power and influence in governance that rests with elite activists who represent brokers. This role raises other questions about the transformation of social relations as it comes with a kind of 'conflict of interest' dilemma. Furthermore, the critical stage of the collaboration is resource exchange in which the language of power was implied by the resources. Additionally, there is evidence that the supportive conditions that can improve the outcomes of evolving local governance consist of trust, trust building and effective lessons from past experiences of success. The research provides a rigorous 'good practice' scenario, as highlighted in the data-driven explanation from the KKC case study. When the interactions between the sectors supported good communication, it was characterised by high levels of the trust that enables individual actors to work collaboratively towards mutually understood aims. The communication was not guaranteed automatically by establishing a network structure but, instead, was connected to existing relationships and dynamics within each community. In particular, communication effectiveness related to the ways that social capital and human capital were utilised and strengthened so that they built trust.

Thai local administration has gradually shifted from an absolute hierarchical mode of governance toward ‘modern’ local governance involving network forms of collaboration. However, the shift is an emerging paradigm that is not yet distinctly formulated. Introducing network structures does not in itself guarantee that appropriate collaborative processes will occur and I contend that active support needs to be provided that recognises particular local contexts and builds trust so that communication and genuine participation are facilitated.

8.3 Implications of the Research

This research has both practical and theoretical implications with regard to governance in local communities. I argue that network-based forms of local governance can be effective and can strengthen participatory democracy in communities. However, to be effective the local governance network needs to be constructed under conditions that acknowledge the context of, and favour the particular social characteristics of each community. Therefore, it is important that whatever systems are involved in establishing the CLG, there is explicit attention paid to building trust and enhancing social capital and human capital. If such efforts are successful then communication and collaboration can be strengthened and the governing process can be fully understood so that there is shared ownership and jointly acknowledged achievement with regard to intended outcomes.

In order to actively support trust building it is necessary to address first the question of power in terms of the differential that exists in the way that the public sector and civil society exercise influence. The political system at all levels in Thailand involves top-down approaches, inefficient performance and is constrained by corruption. The result is that power is not easily given up and the functioning of democratic governance in Thai society is thereby challenged. The existing circumstances call for change, towards equality in power relationships. The evidence from the KKC case clearly illustrates the potential for governance networks to challenge and shift existing power relations. In KKC, the power was re-balanced to strengthen the civil society contribution and that re-balancing was a critical component in the case’s successful

outcomes. However, it needs to be noted that the re-balancing was made possible through the third party intervention and sponsorship and it is not clear from this research whether such re-balancing would have been possible without that intervention. Nevertheless, I contend that the KKC evidence suggests that re-balancing power is necessary if Collaborative Local Governance is to be effective. Power shifts have political and social dimensions and are supported by pressure at a global level to shift norms and performance to align to universal frameworks of good governance. This point is of critical importance in understanding the way that CLGs fit within the principles of good governance. ‘Good’ governance as it is commonly applied operates within the existing system and reinforces hierarchical power relations. In contrast, CLGs synthesise the good governance approach with the network governance approach and requires redistribution of power. Although such conditions of change are nominally endorsed through national legislation for good governance, and that was meant to strengthen meaningful ways of governing at national and community levels, there is very little genuine commitment in practice.

The implication is that power needs to be explicitly addressed. Within the collaborative space of CLGs the dimensions of socially influential power and the authorities’ formal power need to be re-defined and re-conceptualised. The movement of governance towards a network form involves transforming the way that power is exercised. As such, the new transformative approach calls for reform in public administration in Thailand that, in turn, calls forth grassroots participation in governance, it involves giving communities a stake, through participating and collaborating. This research identifies the possibility of more inclusive practices involving grassroots participation but also acknowledges that network forms could result in other outcomes, including the possibility that some elite actors could use privileged power to take advantage, for their individual interest.

The complexity of the power issue can be further considered as two dimensions: ‘power to’ and ‘power within’ the transforming governance systems. First, the ‘power to’ dimension refers to the rearranging of the power structure between public sector and community by including an active civil society. This empowerment process

restructures the power relation between public authorities and civil society actors from ‘power over’ to be ‘shared power’ through resource exchange and negotiation. The resources and capacities contributed within individual sectors comprised labour, funding, information, knowledge, skill, perspective and experience. Such resource interdependency across the sectors signifies the evolving character of horizontal power relations between the stakeholders.

Second, the ‘power within’ dimension refers to the expression and exercise of the power that individual actors exercised within the governance system. The social capital and human capital were represented through the ‘voice’ and abilities of civil society actors. The quality of each actor’s contribution affects and determines the outcome of a changing power structure. The inclusion and distribution of civil society in the governance system empowers citizens with the fundamental right to actively participate and collaborate with the public sector to govern their own affairs. As a result, the complexity of power relationships could be restructured through strengthening civil society by building social capital and human capital. When civil society has more capacity to perform and contribute within the collaborative governance space it can encourage and enrich the incremental change for inclusive and flexible governance systems.

Moreover, Thai administration is different from western forms in terms of the democratic regime and the relationship of the state with civil society. The nature and processes of establishing civil society in western social systems do not fully apply in Thailand. The concept that participation is a ‘given right’ and that individuals have a right to be active citizens is not commonly understood. The Thai government’s mandating through regulation of “good governance” concepts like accountability and participation is, therefore, unfamiliar to Thai communities in both theoretical and practical senses.

The good governance approach is directed towards increasing participation that encourages genuine responses and contribution from civil society. However, the requirement of 'genuine' contribution means that by definition those contributions cannot be prescribed for each locality. Therefore, the results of enabling good governance concepts are going to be variable. This research has found that the interaction between public authorities and civil society actors regarding their participation in governance system led to transformation of local governance, but it did so incrementally and in response to the progressive changes to the ways that participation was enacted. The interdependent actors gained knowledge from each other and enhanced their understanding of citizen rights in participation and this knowledge shaped a new way of thinking and behaving and that involved deeper understanding of the general notion of 'power to people'. They recognised that problem solving needed 'active action' with collaborative effort through the network rather than tackling the problems in isolation. This represents the merging of the network governance approach with the good governance principles. It was essential for this merging that the public sector accepted the participation and 'voice' of the community.

This research suggests that the incremental changes that resulted were grounded in real interactions and they accumulated to effect a reinforcement of participatory democracy. I consider that a fundamental necessity is to embed incremental change practice through capacity building that ultimately will support and escalate the transformational change in governance. This contributes to constructing strong and healthy communities in Thailand. Healthy communities in this sense can turn rigid and fragmented bureaucratic systems towards democratic governance, and hasten the introduction of democratic practices.

To achieve the mindset that supports CLGs, we need to pay active attention to formal and informal political education mechanisms. Formal political education involves the practices of social science, political science and public administration teaching. The informal involves education outside the classroom, using media and available public spaces. We need to emphasise at a fundamental level the concept of 'power to the

people' and promote participatory governance. In terms of state and society relationships, there needs to be a shift from 'the governed' mentality and to heightened responsibility of state to a more inclusive and collaborative governance that makes room for citizens to participate in the political and bureaucratic systems that ultimately reconcile its tensions. In addition, capacity building programmes need to be set out for both public sector and civil society to build social and human capital in functioning and working together across the boundaries. It is necessary to develop series of training sessions and seminars for politicians, public officers and civil society actors, regarding their changing roles, collaborative skills and particular requirements of the new administrative frames.

The new transformative good governance approach that the Thai government initiated has its merits and limitations. It may not be perfect and still evolving but it enables the governance system to move in a direction that is anchored by participatory democracy. CLG is an end goal but it is also a means to that end. Collaborative Local Governance is about transformative process and it is not a final product. We hope to achieve democratic governance in the end but its production possibly comes through the acknowledgement of context and incremental change in structures and functioning of governing process that begin with considering the changing nature of relationships between the public sector and civil society, and the social capital and human capital this entails.

Finally, this research offers policy recommendation for policy makers at the national level to consider the network governance mode as a new pathway of improving the local administration in pursuit of democratic governance for the benefit of the public. The evidence from several studies in other countries indicates that there is a transition trend from 'less government' to 'more governance' and that more appropriately responds to the reality of complex modern societies. Considering Thai society, this research proposed the Collaborative Local Governance (CLG) approach, grounded in theory and empirical evidence, as a potential roadmap for incremental transformative processes for Thai local governance. Although this new approach is not a definitive

pathway for local democracy, it appropriately aligns with the changing nature of both governance and the local environment.

8.4 The Original Contribution of this Research

This research explored the evolving governance mode at the local Thai level by conducting historical study and empirical work. The location of the research in a Thai context makes it original because no similar studies have been undertaken. The linking of historical and empirical studies also represents a new approach to understanding governance in the circumstances of adopting the ‘good governance’ concept that resulted in response to demands of globalisation. In addition, by synthesising the knowledge from theoretical and practical perspectives on governance concepts associated with good governance and network governance, this research provides new insights into the evolution of local governance and the constraints of historical legacy. Barriers associated with the old instrumental fashions from a previous era can no longer serve to support the key conditions that constitute democratic Collaborative Local Governance. The research also provides a combination of normative data and empirical data with diverse findings that suggest enhanced practices and the possibility of an intensification of democratic development. This enlarges the limited studies that have been undertaken in this area for developing countries, especially those of Asian background.

This research provides a new way to conceptualise local administrative trends by examining the composition and dynamic of changes to structure, governance process and relationships. The inherent linking of such components and their relationship with one another enables a new conceptual framework of Collaborative Local Governance (CLG). This framework allows a deeper understanding of the changing nature of governance and the perceptions and course of interactions in response to the take up of the good governance principle, and the shift in mode from the hierarchical toward the network mode of governance. Therefore, this research illuminates the frontier of knowledge on local governance for Thailand. The assumption made here is that the CLG is one potential approach, and it suggests a highly appropriate direction for

Thailand to effectively enhance the democratic quality of local governance, by empowering the citizens to collaborate in local affairs and by facilitating the desired outcomes through collaborative problem solving.

8.5 Limitations of the research

The research was designed around documentary research and the case study approach in two communities in rural areas in different regions of Thailand. As a consequence of this methodology, the research faced a number of limitations. First, the data generated from two case studies is small scale. Although this research discussed select issues comparatively across the two case studies, it has not been designed as a comparative study. However, the findings from case studies do demonstrate the diverse stories that enable us to comprehend a variety of practices that confirm the conditions that act as enablers or barriers in the transformative process. Second, this research examined the evolution of local government and shifts in governance modes with ‘less government’ and ‘more governance’, but with no intention to compare the different modes of governance. Rather, it focused on determining the transitions toward a local governance paradigm. The time scale of the research is limited due to the limits of time and research resources. This research does not claim to encompass the full range of issues informing the dynamics and sustainability of rapidly evolving local governance.

8.6 Recommendation for Further Research

This research illuminates a wide range of theoretical issues of relevance to governance study. Governance theories have been extensively employed in various disciplines. Governance theory is fluid and interdisciplinary. This research project has taken care to clarify its uses of the term, and how key concepts might be validated. This research employed governance theory in two distinctive ways. At a broad level, ‘governance’, ‘public governance’ and ‘local governance’ are used as background theory. In a narrower sense, ‘good governance’ and ‘network governance’ are used as focal theory, and linked to the concept of ‘democratic governance paradigm’. The theory warrants further systematic application and refinement as there

is still little empirical evidence assembled, especially from outside the European and North American countries.

The other recommendation for further research would be to pay special attention to the areas of civil society, social capital, trust and their relationships with governance concepts within particular contexts, or through international comparisons. Future research adopting interdisciplinary approaches is needed to comprehend more fully the paradoxes within and complexity of governance in pursuit of democratic governance..

Another avenue of research is the trialling and development of the framework proposed by this research project, so called Collaborative Local Governance. The inference relationships possible between theories within the framework can facilitate and open up new areas of enquiry and new perspectives on long standing theories. This framework provides a direction for Public Administration and Local Administration in particular, to explore the challenges within the new field of Local Governance study in Thailand. This new framework could be further developed through more empirical research. The CLG approach could be also modified to suit other contexts as well, especially countries that have adopted the good governance approach and are engaged in improving their local administration systems.

References

Asian Development Bank. (1997) *ADB Operational Manual Section 5, Issued on 13 January 1997*, [online], Available: <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Handbooks/SocialDimensions/default.asp>. [14 July 2009].

Adshead, M. (2006) New Modes of Governance and the Irish Case: Finding Evidence for Explanations of Social Partnership, *The Economic and Social Review*. Vol. 37, no. 3, pp 319–342.

Agar, M. 1996. *The Professional Stranger*. Second edition. San Diego: Academic Press.

Agranoff, R. (2005) Enhancing Performance through Public Sector Network: Mobilizing Human Capital in Communities of Practices, *Public Performance & Management Review*. Vol 31, no.3, pp 320-347

Agranoff, R. & McGuire, M. (1998). The Intergovernmental Context of Local Economic Development. *State & Local Government Review*, pp.150-164.

Agranoff, R. & McGuire, M. (2003). Inside The Matrix: Integrating The Paradigms of Intergovernmental and Network Management. *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol.26, no.12, pp.1401-1422.

Agranoff, R. & McGuire, M. (2004). Another Look at Bargaining and Negotiating In Intergovernmental Management, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, Vol. 14, no.4, pp.495-512.

Agranoff, R. (2012) *Collaborating to Manage: A Primer for the Public Sector*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Ansell, C. (2000). *The Networked Polity: Regional Development in Western*

Europe. *Governance*, Vol.13, no.2, pp.279-291.

Bache, I. (2000). Government Within Governance: Network Steering in Yorkshire and The Humber. *Public Administration*, Vol.78, no.3, pp.575-592.

Baker, C & Phongpaichit, P (2009), *A History of Thailand* (2nd ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Bingham, L. B., Nabatchi, T. & O'Leary, R. (2005). The New Governance: Practices and Processes for Stakeholder and Citizen Participation in the Work of Government. *Public administration review*, Vo.65, no.5, pp.547-558.

Bevir, M. and Rhodes, R. A. W. 2006. *Governance Stories*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Bevir, M. & Rhodes, R.A.W. (2003). *Interpreting British Governance*. London: Routledge.

Bevir, M. & Rhodes, R.A.W. (2004). Interpretation as method, explanation, and critique: a reply. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.6, pp.156 – 161.

Bevir, M. and D. Richards. (2009). 'Decentring Policy Networks: A Theoretical Agenda', *Public Administration*, Vol.87, no.1, pp. 3–14.

Bevir, M. & R.A.W. Rhodes. (2003). *Interpreting British Government*. London: Routledge.

Bogason, P. & Musso, J. A. (2006). The Democratic Prospects of Network Governance. *The American Review of Public Administration*, Vol.36, no.1, pp. 3-18.

Boonyawat., P. (1993). "Decentralization and Improved Service Delivery at the Local Level in Thailand ." In Raul P. De Guzman and Mila A. Reforma (eds.),

Decentralization Towards Democratization and Development, pp. 231-236. Manila: EROPA Secretariat.

Borzel, T. (2010). European Governance: Negotiation and Competition in the Shadow of Hierarchy. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.48, no.2, pp.191-219.

Bovaird, T. (2005). Public Governance: Balancing Stakeholder Power in A Network Society. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, vol .71, no.2, pp.217-228.

Bovaird, T. (2007). Beyond Engagement and Participation: User and Community Coproduction of Public Services. *Public administration review*, vol .67, no.5, pp.846-860.

Bowie, Katherine (1996) "The State , Capitalism and the Struggle for Agrarian Democracy : A Local Election in Northern Thailand ." Paper presented at the 6 th International Conference on Thai Studies, Chiang Mai, 1996. 23 pp.

Bowornwathana, B. (2000) Governance Reform in Thailand: Questionable Assumptions, Uncertain Outcomes. *Governance*, vol.13, no. 3, July, pp 393-408.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of the theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of cultural Production*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bunnag, T. (1976) *The provincial administration of Siam ,1892-1915* Bangkok: The Ministry of the Interior.

Burstein, P. (1991) Policy Domains: Organization, Culture, and Policy Outcomes, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol.17, pp.327-350.

- Callaghan, K. & Schnell, F. (2001). Assessing The Democratic Debate: How The News Media Frame Elite Policy Discourse. *Political Communication*, Vol.8, no.2, pp.183-213.
- Capano, G. (2011). Government Continues To Do Its Job. A Comparative Study Of Governance Shifts in the Higher Education Sector. *Public Administration*, Vol.89, no.4, pp.1622-1642.
- Carroll, B. W. & Carroll, T. (1999). Civic Networks, Legitimacy and the Policy Process. *Governance*, Vol. 12, no.1, pp.1-28.
- Chayabud, C. (2005) *Thai Local Government*, Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Alumni (In Thai)
- Charoenmuag, T. (2005) *Local governance and Local Governance*, Bangkok: Kobfai Publishing project (In Thai)
- Chantornvong, S (2000) . “Local Godfathers in Thai Politics.” In Ruth McVey (ed.) *Money and Power in Provincial Thailand* , pp. 53-73. Singapore: ISEAS; Chiang Mai: Silkworm.
- Charoensinolarn, C. (2006) *Nation-State and The New World (Dis)Order*, Bangkok: Vipasa.
- Choi, J. W. (2007). Governance Structure and Administrative Corruption in Japan: an Organizational Network Approach. *Public Administration Review*, vol. 67, no.5, pp. 930-942.
- Chomsky, D. (2000). Advance Agent of the Truman Doctrine: The United States, The New York Times, and the Greek Civil War. *Political Communication*, vol.17, no.4, pp.415-432.

Coleman, J.S. (1988) Social Capital in Creation of Human Capital. American, *Journal of Sociology*, Vol.94,S, pp. 95-121.

Considine, M. & J.M. Lewis. 2003. 'Bureaucracy, Network or Enterprise? Comparing Models of Governance in Australia, Britain, the Netherlands, and New Zealand', *Public Administration Review*, vol.63, no.2, pp.131–40.

Constituent Assembly (2007) *The 2007 Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand*. Bangkok: National Assembly of Thailand Press

Dhiravegin, L. (1992) *Demi Democracy: The Evolution of the Thai Political System*. Singapore: Times Academic Press,

Edelenbos, J. & Klijn, E. H. (2006). Managing Stakeholder Involvement in Decision Making: a Comparative Analysis Of Six Interactive Processes in The Netherlands. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, vol.16, no.3, pp.417-446.

Elliott, J. (1991). *Action research for educational change*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Finlayson, A.,M. Bevir, R.A.W. Rhodes (2004). 'The Interpretive Approach in Political Science: A Symposium', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol.6, no.2, pp.129–64.

Frederickson, H. G. (2005) *Governance, Governance Everywhere*, Oxford University Press, USA.

Frederickson, H. G. (2007) Filling up the hollow state: The state of agents project. *PA Time*, December, no 11.

Frederickson, D & Frederickson, H. G. (2006) Measuring the performance of the hollow state. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press

Freeman, J. L., and Stevens, J. P. (1987) A theoretical and conceptual re-examination of subsystem politics, *Public Policy and Administration*, vol.21, pp9-25.

Girsling, J. L.S., (1981). *Thailand: Society and Politics*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Goerdel, H. T. (2006). Taking Initiative: Proactive Management and Organizational Performance in Networked Environments. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, vol.16, no.3, pp.351-367.

Goldsmith, S. & Eggers, W. D. (2004). *Governing by Network: The New Shape of the Public Sector*, Brookings Inst Pr.

Gomes, R. C. & Gomes, L. O. M. (2008). Who is Supposed to be Regarded as a Stakeholder for Public Organizations in Developing Countries? *Public Management Review*, vol.10, no.2, pp.263-275.

Goodwin, M. & Grix, J. (2011). Bringing Structures Back In: The ‘Governance Narrative’, The ‘Decentred Approach’ And ‘Asymmetrical Network Governance’ In The Education And Sport Policy Communities. *Public Administration*, vol.89, no.2, pp.537-556.

Graber, D. (2003). The Media and Democracy: Beyond Myths and Stereotypes. *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol.6, no.1, pp.139-160.

Graddy, E. A. & Chen, B. (2006). Influences on the Size and Scope of Networks for Social Service Delivery. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, vol.16, no.4, pp.533-552.

Greenwood, D. & Levin, M. (2007). *Introduction to Action Research: Social Research for Social Change* (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, California:Sage.

Guba, E. and Lincoln, Y. (2005). Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences. In N. &Y. Lincoln, (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.) pp.191 – 216).

Hannabuss, S. (1999) ‘Starting points: research triggers in historical children’s literature’ *Library Review*, vol.48, no.5, pp.251-259.

Hatry, H. P. (1999) *Performance Measurement: Getting Results*, Washington: Urban Institute Press.

Hazlehurst, D. (2001) *Networks and policy making: from theory to practice in Australian social policy*. Canberra: Australian National University.

Hendriks, C. M. (2008). On Inclusion and Network Governance: The Democratic Disconnect of Dutch Energy Transitions. *Public Administration*, vol.86, no.4, pp. 1009-1031.

Hood, C. (1991). A Public Management for all Seasons?. *Public Administration*, vol.69, no.1, pp.3-19.

Huang, K. & Provan, K. G. (2007). Resource Tangibility and Patterns of Interaction in a Publicly Funded Health and Human Services Network. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, vol.17, no.3, pp.435-454.

Hewson & Sinclair (1999) ‘The emergence of global governance theory’, in Hewson, M & Sinclair (ed) *Approach to global governance theory*, NY: State University of New York Press

Hirsch, P. (1990). *Development dilemmas in rural Thailand*, Singapore; New York: Oxford University Press

Imperial, M.T. (2005) 'Using collaboration as a governance strategy: Lessons from six watershed management programs', *Administration and Society*. Vol.37, pp281-320.

Ingavata, C 1990. "Community Development and Local-level Democracy in Thailand:
The Role of *tambol* Councils." *Sojourn*, no.5, pp. 113-143.

John, P. (2001) *Local Government in Western Europe*. London: SAGE Publications

Jomboonruang, P., 2008. The Trend of Local Thai Governance: A New Paradigm. *Public Administration Journal*, vol.6, no.1, January – April, pp.93-117. (In Thai)

Juenke, E. G. (2005). Management Tenure and Network Time: How Experience Affects Bureaucratic Dynamics. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, vol.15, no.1, pp.113-131.

Kaboyakgosi, G. & Mpule, K. P. (2008). Beyond Public Administration? HIV/AIDS Policy Networks and the Transformation of Public Administration in Botswana. *Public Administration and Development*, vol.28, no.4, pp.301-310.

Keast, R. & Brown, K. (2002). The Government Service Delivery Project: A Case Study of the Push and Pull of Central Government Coordination, *Public Management Review*, vol.4, no.4, pp.439-459.

Keast, R., Mandell, M. P., Brown, K. & Woolcock, G. (2004). Network Structures: Working Differently and Changing Expectations. *Public Administration Review*, vol.64, no.3, pp.363-371.

Kjaer, A. M. (2004). *Governance (Key Concepts)*. Cambridge: Polity.

Kjaer, A. M. (2011) Rhodes' Contribution To Governance Theory: Praise, Criticism and the Future Governance Debate, *Public Administration*, vol.89, no 4, pp 1221-1234.

Klijn, E. H. (2008). Governance and Governance Networks in Europe. *Public Management Review*, vol.10, no.4, pp.505-525.

Klijn, E. H. & Koppenjan, J. F. M. (2000). Public Management and Policy Networks. *Public Management an International Journal of Research and Theory*, vol.2, no.2, pp.135-158.

Klijn, E. H. & Skelcher, C. (2007). Democracy and Governance Network: Compatible or not?, *Public Administration*, vol.85, no.3, pp. 587-609.

Koliba, C., Meek, J. and Zia, A. 2010. Gordian Knot or Integrated Theory? Critical Conceptual Considerations for Governance Network Analysis. In Brandsen, T and Holzer, M. (eds), *The Future of Governance: 5th Annual TransAtlantic Dialogue Proceedings*.

Koranteng, R. O. & Larbi, G. A. (2008). Policy Networks, Politics and Decentralisation Policies in Ghana. *Public Administration and Development*, vol.28, no.3, pp.212-222.

Kooiman, J. (1993). *Modern Governance: New Government-Society Interactions*. Sage Publications Ltd.

Knox, H., Savage, M. and Harvey, P. (2006). 'Social Networks and the Study of Relations: Networks as Method, Metaphor and Form', *Economy and Society*, vol.35, no.1, pp.113-40.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S. & Frey, T. (2006).

Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European countries compared. *European Journal of Political Research*, vol.45, no.6, pp.921-956.

Krueathep, W. (2007) *Networks: Innovation of Local Governance*, Bangkok: TRF (In Thai)

Krueathep, W., Riccucci, N. M. & Suwanmala, C. (2010). Why do Agencies Work Together? The Determinants of Network Formation at the Subnational Level of Government in Thailand, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 20(1), 157-185.

Keyes, C. F. (1997), "Cultural Diversity and National Identity in Thailand", *Government policies and ethnic relations in Asia and the Pacific*: MIT Press

Kickert, W. J. M., Klijn, E. H. & Koppenjan, J. F. M. (1997). *Managing Complex Networks: Strategies for the Public Sector*. Sage Publications Ltd.

Laothamatas, A. (1996) "A Tale of Two Democracies: Conflicting Perceptions of Elections and Democracy in Thailand," in R. Taylor (ed.), *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 201-23.

Larbi, G. A. (2005). 'Freedom to Manage', Task Networks And Institutional Environment of Decentralized Service Organizations in Developing Countries. CAPAM Symposium on Networked Government, *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, vol.7, no.3, 447.

Le Gales, P. (2001). Urban Governance and Policy Networks: on the Urban Political Boundedness of Policy Networks. A French Case Study. *Public Administration*, vol.79, no.1, pp.167-184.

Lewis, J. M. (2011) *The Future of Network Governance Research: Strength in*

Diversity and Synthesis. *Public Administration*, vol.89, no.4, pp.1221-1234.

Likert, R. (1932). A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes. *Archives of psychology*, pp.140-145.

Lynn, L. E., Heinrich, C. J. & Hill, C. J. (2002). *Improving Governance: A New Logic for Empirical Research*, Georgetown University Press.

Maxwell, J. A. (2005) *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*, Sage Publications, Inc.

Meier, K. J. & O'Toole Jr, L. J. (2001). Managerial Strategies and Behavior in Networks: A Model with Evidence from US Public Education. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, vol.11, no.3, pp.271-294.

Milward, H.B. and K.G. Provan. 1998. 'Measuring Network Structure', *Public Administration*, vol.76, no.2, pp.387-407.

Milward, H.B. and Provan, K.G. 2006. "A manager's guide to choosing and using collaborative networks." *IBM Center for The Business of Government*. Wash., DC.

Mektrairat, N. (1991) "The Economic Base and Power of Modern Thai Political Parties ." In Eiji Murashima, Nakharin Mektrairat, and Somkiat Wanthana,(eds) *Making of Modern Thai Political Parties* , pp. 55-87. Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies.

Meuleman, L. (2008) *Public management and metagovernance of hierarchies, networks and markets: The feasibility of designing and managing governance*. Heidelberg: Physic0-Verlag

Mitchell, S. M. & Shortell, S. M. (2000). The Governance and Management of Effective Community Health Partnerships: A Typology For Research, Policy,

and Practice. *Milbank Quarterly*, vol.78, no.2, pp.241-289.

Moynihan,D.P. (2009). "Our Usable Past": A Historical Contextual Approach to Administrative Values. *Public Administration Review*,vol. 69, no.5, pp.813---822.

Nartsupha. C., (1999). *The Thai Village Economy in the Past*. Translated by Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Neuman,W.L (1997). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Needham Height, MA: Allyn &Bacon

Nelson, M, H., ed. 2004. *Thai Politics: Global and Local Perspectives*. *KPI Yearbook No. 2(2002/03)*. Nonthaburi: King Prajadhipok's Institute.

Oliver, C. (1990). Determinants of Interorganizational Relationships: Integration and Future Directions. *Academy of Management Review*, pp.241-265.

Osborne, S. P. (2007) 'The New Public Governance?', *Public Management Review*, vol.8, no.3, pp. 377-387.

Osborne, D. & Gaebler, T. (1992). *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming Government*. Reading Mass: Adison Wesley Public Company

Pennen, T. V. D. (2005). Actor Strategies in Decentralized Policy Networks. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, vol.20, no.3, pp.301-315.

Peters, B.G. & Pierre,J. (2000) *Handbook of public policy*, Sage Publications

Phongpaichit, P & Baker, C (1997) "Power in Transition : Thailand in the 1990s ." In Kevin Hewison (ed), *Political Change in Thailand : Democracy and Participation* , pp. 21-41. London and New York: Routledge.

Phongpaichit, P & Baker, C. (1999) "The Political Economy of the Thai Crisis." *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, vol.4 , no.1, no. 193-208.

Phongpaichit, P & Baker, C. (2000) "Chao Sua , Chao Pho , Chao Thi : Lords of Thailand's Transition." In Ruth McVey (ed) *Money and Power in Provincial Thailand*, pp. 30-52. Singapore : ISEAS; Chiang Mai: Silkworm.

Pope, J. & Lewis, J. M. (2008). Improving Partnership Governance: Using A Network Approach to Evaluate Partnerships in Victoria. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, vol.67, no.4, pp.443-456.

Pierre, J. & Peters, G. B. (2000). *Governance, Politics and the State*. London: Macmillan.

Pierre, J. & Peters, G. B. (2005). *Governing Complex Societies: Trajectories and Scenarios*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Pierre, J. (2000). *Debating Governance*, USA: Oxford University Press,
Provan K G, Fish, A and Sydow, J. (2007) Literature on Whole Networks
Interorganizational Networks at the Network Level: A Review of the Empirical
Journal of Management, vol.33, pp.479 -516

Provan, K. G. & Kenis, P. (2008). Modes of Network Governance: Structure, Management, and Effectiveness. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, vol.18, no.2, pp.229-252.

Punyaratabandhu, S. (2004) "Commitment to Good Governance, Development, and Poverty Reduction: Methodological Issues in the Evaluation of Progress at National and Local Levels," Paper for inclusion in the Report of the Sixth Session of the Committee on Development Policy, United Nations, New York.

Putnam, R. (1995) Turning In, Turning Out: the Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America, *Political Science and Politics*. Vol. 28, pp 667-683.

Rethemeyer, R. K. (2005) Conceptualizing and Measuring Collaborative Networks, *Public Administration Review*, vol.61, no. 1, pp.117-121.

Rhodes, R.A.W. 1988. *Beyond Westminster and Whitehall*, London: Unwin Hyman.

Rhodes, R.A.W. 2006. 'Policy Network Analysis', in M. Moran, M. Rein and R. Goodin (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 425–47.

Rhodes, R.A.W. (1997). *Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity, and Accountability*, Buckingham/Philadelphia: Open University Press,

Rhodes, R. A. W. (2006). Policy Network Analysis. In: M. Moran, M. Rein & R. E. Goodin (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of public policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rhodes, R. A. W. (2007). Understanding Governance: Ten years on, *Organization Studies*, vol.28, no.8, pp.1243-1264.

Rhodes, R.A.W. (2012) 'Waves of governance' In David Levi-Faur (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.33-48

Rhodes R.A.W. (eds), *Policy Networks in British Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 2–27.

Rodriguez, V., Janssens, F., Debackere, K. & De Moor, B. (2007). Do Material Transfer Agreements Affect the Choice of Research Agendas? The Case of Biotechnology in Belgium. *Scientometrics*, vol.71, no.2, pp.239-269.

Røiseland, A. (2011). Understanding Local Governance: Institutional Forms of Collaboration. *Public Administration*, vol.89, no.3, pp.879-893.

Rosenau, J. N. (1992). Governance, Order, and Change in World Politics. In: J.N. Rosenau & E.-O. Czempiel (eds.) *Governance without Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Royal Thai Government Gazette. (1999) *Tambon (sub-district) Council and Tambon Administration Organisation Act of 1994*, Bangkok: Se-ed.

Royal Thai Government Gazette. (2008) *Community Association Council Act*. Bangkok: Se-ed.

Salamon, L ,(ed) (2002) *The Tools of Government: A Guide to the New Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press

Samudavanija, C & Sukhumbhand, P . (1993). “Thailand : Liberalization Without Democracy .” In Morley, W. J. (ed) *Driven by Growth: Political Change in the Asia-Pacific Region*, pp. 119-141.

Schutt, R. (2006) *Investigating the Social World*. Sage Publications,. pp.412-416.

Schout, A. & Jordan, A. (2005). Coordinated European Governance: Self-Organizing or Centrally Steered? *Public Administration*, vol.83, no.1, pp.201-220.

Sorensen, E. (2006). Metagovernance. *The American Review of Public Administration*, vol.36, no.1, pp.98-114.

Sørensen, E. and Torfing, J. (2005) The Democratic Anchorage of Governance Network. *Scandinavian Political Studies*. vol. 28, no. 3, pp 195 – 218

- Sørensen, E. and Torfing, J. (eds). (2007). *Theories of Democratic Network Governance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stake, R. (1995). *The Art of Case Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stoker, G. (2004) *Transforming Local Governance*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan
- Suwanmala, C. (2004) *Civic participation in Sub-National Government in Thailand* [Online], Available: <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan021082.pdf> [21 April 2009]
- Teisman, G. R. & Klijn, E. H. (2002). Partnership Arrangements: Governmental Rhetoric or Governance Scheme? *Public administration review*, vol.62, no.2, pp.197-205.
- Teisman, G. R. (2000). Models for Research into Decision-Making Processes: On Phases, Streams and Decision-Making Rounds. *Public Administration*, vol.78, no.4, pp.937-956.
- Torfing, J. (2006). Governance Networks and Their Democratic Anchorage. In Verlags, F. & Buchhandels-AG, W. Universitätsverlag, W. (ed.). *New Spaces of European Governance*
- United Nations Development Program. (1997) *Human Development Report*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van Kersbergen, K. and Van Waarden, F. (2004), 'Governance as a bridge between disciplines: Cross-disciplinary inspiration regarding shifts in governance and problems of governability, accountability and legitimacy', *European Journal of Political Research*, vol.43, pp.143-171.

Van Slyke, D. M. (2003). The Mythology of Privatization in Contracting for Social Services. *Public Administration Review*, vol 63, no.3, pp.296-315.

Vichit-Vadakan, J. (2000). "The Role of Civil Society for Good Governance in Thailand ." Paper, Asia Development Forum, East Asia: From Crisis to Opportunity, 5-8 June 2000, Singapore.

Voets, J., Van Dooren, W., and De Rynck, F. (2008) A Framework for assessing the performance of Policy Networks, *Public Management Review*. Vol.10, no. 6, pp. 773-790.

Walti, S. & Kubler, D. (2003). "New Governance" and Associative Pluralism: The Case of Drug Policy in Swiss Cities. *Policy Studies Journal*, vol.31,no.4, pp.499-525.

Wellman, B. and Berkowitz, S. D. (eds) (1988) *Social Structures: A Network Approach*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

World Bank (1994) *Governance: World Bank's Experience*. Washington: World Bank.

Yang, K. & Callahan, K. (2007). Citizen Involvement Efforts and Bureaucratic Responsiveness: Participatory Values, Stakeholder Pressures, and Administrative Practicality. *Public Administration Review*, vol.67, no.2, pp.249-264.

Yang, K. (2005). Public Administrators' Trust in Citizens: A Missing Link in Citizen Involvement Efforts. *Public Administration Review*, vol.65, no.3, pp.273-285.

Yaowaprapart & Wangmahaporn (2012). *Local Public Policy*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press (In Thai)

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks.

Yin, R. (1989a). *Case study research: Design and methods* (Rev. ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing.

Appendix

Materials from the beginning of my research before going to the “field”

as

**the evidence of the impact of changing governance concepts and approaches
theoretically and practically within myself and my research spheres**



School of Global Studies,

Social Science and Planning

City Camus

Building 37, Level 2, Room 21

411 Swanston Street

Melbourne VIC 3000 Australia

A Plain Language Statement to be used in a research project involving human participation

Dear

My name is Thunradee Taveekan

I am undertaking PhD research in the School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning at RMIT University funded by the Royal Thai Government. The title of my research is **“Bridging State-Civil Society through Policy Network in Thailand: Two Case Studies of Local Environmental Policy Network in Songkla and Buriram Provinces”**.

This PhD research is focused on the question of governance which has acquired new importance in Thailand after the 1997 financial crisis. In fact, Thailand was forced to attend to “governance” as a condition of funding from the IMF and ADB following the crisis. This contributed to official acceptance of the “Washington Consensus: good governance approach” which calls for transparency, accountability, efficiency, fairness, and participatory in decision making at all level of government. However, the new political dynamic released in 2006, and the return of informal authoritarian government in 2008, have weakened the connection between government agencies and civil society actors. Ideally, the political space in the public policy making process can be open to all stakeholders. Theoretically, policy networks especially at the local level offer a mechanism by which multi-stakeholder participants can be included. This research aims to analyze and develop a practical guidance of policy networking at the local level that is both inclusive and appropriate to Thai context. This approach will focus on the new pattern of relations between the government and civil society under the 2007 constitution and other public laws.

There are around 300 main actors involved in local environmental policy networks in Songkla province. You are invited to participate in this research because you are one of the key policy makers in local environmental policy networks. If you are interested in participating in this investigation, please answer the questions in the attached questionnaire. This questionnaire will take approximately half an hour to complete.

If you feel uncomfortable with any questions, please feel free to leave those. You do not need to answer. Your participation in this research is **voluntary** and you are free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied.

The data from you will be kept as highly confidential information. Only the investigator and supervisors: Dr. Paul Battersby and Dr Robin Goodman can access to this information. It is true that this information will be referred to within a Phd Thesis. Publication in academic journals or conference presentations is also intended, but no publication will include any identify information.

The information will be stored in the safe place in the locked cabinet at Postgraduate Resource Center, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning during the investigator's candidature. It also will be kept for five years in locked desk in senior supervisor office. Then, it will be destroyed after that.

If you would like to participate in this research, please sign your name on the consent form and return it to the investigator in the provided envelope.

If you have any enquires about this research, please do not be heritage to contact me or my supervisors following the contact details below.

Best Regards,

Thunradee Taveekan

Ph.D. Candidate

School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University,
City Campus, Melbourne, Australia

E-Mail: s3184876@student.rmit.edu.au

Dr. Paul Battersby

School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University,
City Campus, Melbourne, Australia

Phone: +61 3 9925 2308

E-Mail: paul.battersby@rmit.edu.au

Dr. Robin Goodman

School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University,
City Campus, Melbourne, Australia

Phone: +61 3 9925 1884

E-Mail: robin.goodman@rmit.edu.au

Any complaints about your participation in this project may be directed to the Executive Officer, RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee, Research & Innovation, RMIT, GPO Box 2476V, Melbourne, 3001. Details of the complaints procedure are available at: http://www.rmit.edu.au/rd/hrec_complaints

ภาคผนวก 1

คณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับมนุษย์ มหาวิทยาลัยอาร์เอ็มไอที (RMIT)

เอกสารชี้แจงและให้คำยินยอมในการเข้าร่วมกิจกรรม ในโครงการวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับ
กระบวนการสัมภาษณ์ การตอบแบบสอบถาม การประชุมกลุ่มย่อย หรือกิจกรรมอื่นๆที่เกี่ยวข้อง
กับการเปิดเผยข้อมูลส่วนบุคคล

**PORTFOLIO OF
SCHOOL/CENTRE OF**

รายชื่อผู้เข้าร่วมการวิจัย
ชื่อโครงการวิจัย

Design and Social Context

School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning

การเชื่อมโยงระหว่างภาครัฐและประชาสังคมด้วยเครือข่ายนโยบาย
ในประเทศไทย: สองกรณีศึกษาจากเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมระ
ท้องถิ่น

ในจังหวัดสงขลาและจังหวัดบุรีรัมย์

(Bridging State-Civil Society through Policy Network in Thailand:
Two Case Studies of Local Environmental Policy Network in
Songkla
and Buriram Provinces)

ชื่อของผู้วิจัย (1)

น.ส. ธัญรติ ทวีกาญจน์ โทรศัพท์: 043-037-8142

- ข้าพเจ้าได้รับเอกสารชี้แจงเกี่ยวกับแบบสอบถามและแบบสัมภาษณ์ที่เกี่ยวข้องในการวิจัยครั้งนี้
- ข้าพเจ้ามีความประสงค์ที่จะเข้าร่วมในโครงการวิจัยตามข้อข้างต้นนี้ ซึ่งข้าพเจ้าได้รับการชี้แจงรายละเอียด เกี่ยวกับการสัมภาษณ์ หรือการตอบแบบสอบถาม เรียบร้อยแล้ว
- ข้าพเจ้าได้ยินยอมให้ผู้วิจัยและคณะผู้วิจัยในโครงการวิจัยนี้ ทำการสัมภาษณ์และสอบถามตามแบบสอบถาม
- ข้าพเจ้าอนุญาตให้มีการบันทึกเสียงของข้าพเจ้า เพื่อใช้ในการวิจัย ☐ ใช่ ☐ ไม่ใช่
- ข้าพเจ้าอนุญาตให้ระบุชื่อของข้าพเจ้า เพื่อใช้ในการวิจัย ☐ ใช่ ☐ ไม่ใช่

6. ข้าพเจ้าได้รับการชี้แจงข้อมูล ดังต่อไปนี้

- a) ข้าพเจ้าได้อ่านเอกสารชี้แจงรายละเอียดเบื้องต้นเรียบร้อยแล้ว และข้าพเจ้าเห็นชอบด้วยกับวัตถุประสงค์ วิธีการดำเนินการวิจัย และความต้องการความร่วมมือในงานวิจัยครั้งนี้
- b) ข้าพเจ้าได้รับการชี้แจงว่าข้าพเจ้าสามารถถอนตัวออกจากโครงการวิจัยนี้ได้ทุกเวลา และสามารถยับยั้งการเผยแพร่ข้อมูลของข้าพเจ้า ที่ได้รวบรวมไว้ก่อนนี้ ที่ยังไม่ได้เผยแพร่
- c) โครงการนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อการศึกษาวิจัย ซึ่งผลการวิจัยในครั้งนี้อาจจะไม่ได้มีประโยชน์ โดยตรงกับข้าพเจ้า ข้อมูลต่างๆที่ข้าพเจ้าได้ให้ไว้แก่ผู้วิจัยจะได้รับการเก็บรักษาและคุ้มครองไว้ตามที่ผู้วิจัยได้แจ้งไว้ และจะสามารถเปิดเผยข้อมูลได้ต่อเมื่อข้าพเจ้ายินยอม โดยในกรณีที่ข้าพเจ้าร่วมในการประชุมกลุ่มย่อย ข้าพเจ้ายอมรับและเข้าใจว่าผู้วิจัยไม่สามารถรับประกันได้ว่าบุคคลอื่นในกลุ่มจะสามารถเก็บข้อมูลดังกล่าวไว้เป็นความลับได้หรือไม่
- d) ข้อมูลที่ได้รับในการวิจัยครั้งนี้จะได้รับการปกป้องและคุ้มครองในขณะที่ผู้วิจัยกำลังศึกษางานวิจัยฉบับนี้และภายหลังที่จบการศึกษา และข้อมูลที่ได้จะถูกเผยแพร่และตีพิมพ์ รวมทั้งรายงานผลการวิจัยจะถูกส่งให้กับอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาโครงการวิจัย ข้อมูลใดๆที่จะถูกใช้จะต้องไม่บิดเบือนไปจากคำยินยอมที่ข้าพเจ้าให้ไว้ข้างต้น ผู้เข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัย ลงลายมือชื่อยินยอมไว้เป็นหลักฐาน

ชื่อ-สกุล _____ วัน เดือน ปี _____

(ลายมือชื่อผู้เข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัย)

ชื่อ-สกุล _____ วัน เดือน ปี _____

(ลายมือชื่อผู้เป็นพยาน)

ผู้เข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยที่ลงนามแล้วจะได้รับสำเนาฉบับของเอกสารชุดนี้ด้วย

ถ้าท่านมีความประสงค์จะร้องเรียน กรุณาติดต่อ

the Executive Officer, RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee, Research & Innovation,
RMIT, GPO Box 2476V, Melbourne, 3001.

รายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับขั้นตอนต่างๆสามารถสืบค้นได้จาก

http://www.rmit.edu.au/rd/hrec_complaints

ภาคผนวก 2



**School of Global Studies,
Social Science and Planning**

City Camus

Building 37, Level 2, Room 21

411 Swanston Street

Melbourne VIC 3000 Australia

เรียน

เรื่อง เอกสารชี้แจงรายละเอียดเบื้องต้นเกี่ยวกับโครงการวิจัย

ข้าพเจ้า นางสาวชญ์ดี ทวีกาญจน์ นักศึกษาปริญญาเอก สาขา สังคมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัย RMIT ณ ประเทศออสเตรเลีย ซึ่งได้รับทุนการศึกษาต่อระดับปริญญาเอกจากรัฐบาลไทย (นักเรียนทุน ก.พ.) กำลังดำเนินการวิจัย ภายใต้งานวิจัย “การเชื่อมโยงระหว่างภาครัฐและประชาสังคมด้วยเครือข่ายนโยบายในประเทศไทย: สองกรณีศึกษาจากเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมระดับท้องถิ่น ในจังหวัดสงขลาและจังหวัดบุรีรัมย์” การวิจัยครั้งนี้มุ่งเน้นศึกษาถึงประเด็นการบริหารจัดการภายหลังการเกิดวิกฤตการณ์ทางการเงินในปี ค.ศ. 1979 โดยประเทศไทยเราได้รับการผลักดันไปสู่การบริหารจัดการแบบธรรมาภิบาล ซึ่งถือเป็นเงื่อนไขหนึ่งที่จะปฏิบัติตามภายหลังจากการรับความช่วยเหลือทางการเงิน จาก IMF และธนาคารแห่งการพัฒนาเอเชีย (ADB) ประเทศไทยจำเป็นต้องปฏิรูปการบริหารตามรูปแบบที่วางตั้งต้นเสนอซึ่งจะต้องมีความโปร่งใส ความรับผิดชอบ ประสิทธิภาพ ความเสมอภาค และการมีส่วนร่วมในการตัดสินใจทุกระดับของการบริหาร อย่างไรก็ตาม ภายหลังจากรัฐประหาร ในปี ค.ศ. 2006 และการ

กลับมาของรัฐบาลอานานิยม ในปี ค.ศ. 2008 ได้นำไปสู่ความอ่อนแอในการในการประสานความร่วมมือระหว่างภาครัฐและภาคประชาสังคม โดยหลักการแล้วพื้นที่ทางการเมืองในกระบวนการกำหนด นโยบายสมควรเปิดกว้างให้ทุกภาคส่วนได้มีส่วนร่วม ในทางทฤษฎีแล้วเครือข่ายนโยบาย โดยเฉพาะในระดับท้องถิ่น นับเป็นกลไกสำคัญที่จะนำไปสู่การเชื่อมโยงภาคส่วนต่างเข้าด้วยกัน โครงการวิจัยนี้จึงมุ่งศึกษาวิเคราะห์และพัฒนารูปแบบและทิศทางการเชื่อมสัมพันธ์ระหว่างภาครัฐและประชาสังคมในระดับท้องถิ่น ที่มีความเหมาะสมกับบริบทของสังคมไทย โดยมุ่งเน้นศึกษาถึงรูปแบบความสัมพันธ์แบบระหว่างรัฐและภาคประชาสังคมภายใต้กรอบของรัฐธรรมนูญ ปี ค.ศ. 2007 และกฎหมายปกครองอื่นๆประกอบ

กรณีศึกษาที่ผู้วิจัยให้ความสนใจ คือ เครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมระดับท้องถิ่นในจังหวัดสงขลาซึ่งผู้ที่มีส่วนเกี่ยวข้องในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมระดับท้องถิ่นในจังหวัดสงขลา มีประมาณกว่า 300 คน และท่านก็นับเป็นอีกบุคคลหนึ่ง ที่เป็นกลไกสำคัญให้การขับเคลื่อนเครือข่ายนโยบายดังกล่าว ผู้วิจัยจึงขอใคร่ขอเชิญท่านเข้าร่วมเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของโครงการวิจัยครั้งนี้ โดยหากท่านมีความยินดีที่จะเข้าร่วมให้ข้อมูลในงานวิจัยดังกล่าวนี้ กรุณาให้ความร่วมมือในการกรอกข้อมูลในแบบสอบถามที่แนบมาพร้อมนี้ด้วย โดยแบบสอบถามนี้จะใช้เวลาในการกรอกทั้งสิ้น ประมาณครึ่งชั่วโมง โดยหากในระหว่างกรอกข้อมูลในแบบสอบถามแล้วท่านเกิดความสงสัย ไม่เข้าใจ หรือไม่สามารทำให้ข้อมูลได้ ท่านสามารถเข้าไปข้อถัดไปได้ ซึ่งการที่ท่านมาร่วมให้ข้อมูลในการวิจัยครั้งนี้ ในแบบสมัครใจ หรืออาสาสมัครนั้น ท่านสามารถถอนตัวออกจากโครงการวิจัยนี้ได้ตลอดเวลา โดยไม่ได้รับผลกระทบใดๆ และสามารถยับยั้งการเผยแพร่ข้อมูลของท่าน ที่ทางผู้วิจัยได้รวบรวมไว้ก่อนนี้ โดยที่ยังไม่ได้เผยแพร่ได้

ผู้วิจัยขอแจ้งให้ท่านทราบว่าข้อมูลของท่านจะถูกเก็บรักษาไว้เป็นความลับไว้เป็นอย่างดี มีเพียงผู้วิจัยและคณาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา จำนวน 2 ท่าน คือ ดร.พอล บัตเตอร์บี้ (Dr. Paul Battersby) และ ดร.โรบิน กูดแมน (Dr. Robin Goodman) เท่านั้น ที่สามารถเข้าถึงข้อมูลที่ท่านให้ไว้ได้

ทั้งนี้ ข้อมูลในการวิจัยครั้งนี้จะนำไปประกอบการวิเคราะห์เพื่อวัตถุประสงค์ในการศึกษา และประกอบการเขียนคุณูปพันธ์ การตีพิมพ์แพร่ข้อมูลในวารสารวิชาการ การนำเสนอผลงานในการประชุมวิชาการ โดยข้อมูลทั้งหมดจะถูกจัดเก็บไว้ในผู้จัดเก็บเอกสารที่ได้รับการปิดผนึกอย่างดี ในห้องทำงานนักศึกษาระดับบัณฑิตศึกษา **School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning** ซึ่งระยะเวลาการจัดเก็บจะเป็นระหว่างการศึกษาและดำเนินการวิจัย และจะจัดเก็บต่อไปอีกเป็นเวลา 5 ปี แล้วจึงทำลายหรือท่านอาจแจ้งความประสงค์ให้ทำลายเมื่อท่านต้องการได้ ถ้าท่านมีความประสงค์ในการเข้าร่วมให้ข้อมูลในโครงการวิจัยดังกล่าวนี้ กรุณาลงลายมือชื่อในแบบฟอร์มแสดงความยินยอม พร้อมกับใส่ซองที่แนบมาพร้อมนี้ เพื่อส่งคืนแก่ข้าพเจ้าด้วย จะเป็นพระคุณอย่างสูง

หากท่านมีข้อสงสัยประการเกี่ยวกับโครงการวิจัยนี้ กรุณาติดต่อสอบถามรายละเอียดเพิ่มเติมได้ที่ผู้วิจัย หรือคณาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา ตามที่ติดต่อด้านล่างนี้

ขอแสดงความนับถือ

น.ส. ธัญรัตน์ ทวีกาญจน์

นักศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอก

School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University,

City Campus, Melbourne, Australia

E-Mail: s3184876@student.rmit.edu.au

Dr. Paul Battersby

School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University,

City Campus, Melbourne, Australia

Phone: +61 3 9925 2308

E-Mail: paul.battersby@rmit.edu.au

Dr. Robin Goodman

School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University,

City Campus, Melbourne, Australia

Phone: +61 3 9925 1884

E-Mail: robin.goodman@rmit.edu.au

ถ้าท่านมีความประสงค์จะร้องเรียน กรุณาติดต่อ

the Executive Officer, RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee, Research & Innovation,
RMIT, GPO Box 2476V, Melbourne, 3001.

รายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับขั้นตอนต่างๆสามารถสืบค้นได้จาก

http://www.rmit.edu.au/rd/hrec_complaints

Appendix 3

Part 1 Questionnaire

The quantitative data, which will be gathered by using the questionnaires, will help to capture the structure and nature of interaction between state agencies and civil society by drawing on the social network analysis technique which can illustrate the nodes and its relations between nodes. The quantitative strategy also can be used for measuring the scale of trust level among the policy key makers in this research.

Section I – Background

Name of your Organization:.....

Type of your Organization:

- ☐ States agencies or local government
- ☐ Civil Society Group

Contact Address:

Area/Province:

- ☐ Songkla
- ☐ Buriram

Section II - The structure and nature of interaction between state agencies and civil society

Please provide the name of organization that you consider that they are the good partner in your local environmental policy network in the following blank below by ordering from a lot of contact to very little contact.

Organization 1: _____

Organization 2: _____

Organization 3: _____

Organization 4: _____

Organization 5: _____

Organization 6: _____

Organization 7: _____

Organization 8: _____

Organization 9: _____

Organization 10: _____

Directions: Please use the list above answers the next session. Please put an
“X”
in the box(es) where appropriate regarding your opinion.

Section III – Measuring the level of trust (It will separate into 2 kinds)

Please put an “X” in the box where appropriate regarding your opinion.

Questions	1. Disagree Strongly	2. Disagree Somewhat	3. Neither Agree Nor Disagree	4. Agree Somewhat	5. Agree Strongly
3.1 Overall, <u>state agencies/civil society groups</u> can be trusted in the environmental policy network.					
3.2 You can be less careful when need to deal with <u>state agencies/civil society groups</u> in policy network at the policy formulation process.					
3.3 Most <u>state agencies/civil society groups</u> always present the feeling or behaviour that welcome other organizations to join in policy network.					
3.4 In the environmental policy network, most <u>state agencies/civil society groups</u> provide the essential information to other organization during the policy formulation process.					
3.5 In the environmental policy network, would you say that state agencies and civil society groups can trust each other.					

Section IV – The snow ball technique for conducting interview

Please feel free to give the 10 names who are actively involved in local environmental policy network.

No.	Name	Organization
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		

Part 2 Semi-structure Interview

The need of qualitative data is major part of source for understanding cooperative behaviour and the perspectives of actors by semi-structured interviewing methods.

Guiding questions for in-dept interview

1. What is your organization? (State agencies or civil society)
2. How long have you been involve in local environmental policy network?
3. What is your role and functions in that policy network?
4. What is the activity that you involve or participate in policy network?
5. Why do you join the policy network?
6. Do the government have strategies to to encourage civil society to works cooperatively

in local environmental policy network for developing good policy?

7. Do you think policy network is a new intervention in Thailand or not?
8. Is there anything change significantly in policy network under the 2007 Constitution?

And How can you explain these change?

9. Is there anything that you would like to suggest to strengthen the local environmental

policy network especially the cooperative behaviour between state and civil society?

10. What is your future plan for developing the effective process of participatory decision making through environmental policy network?

ภาคผนวก 3

ส่วนที่ 1 แบบสอบถาม

การเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลเชิงปริมาณโดยใช้แบบสอบถาม จะช่วยในการอธิบายโครงสร้างและธรรมชาติของ

รูปแบบการปฏิสัมพันธ์กันระหว่างภาครัฐและภาคประชาสังคม โดยการใช้เทคนิคการวิเคราะห์เครือข่ายสังคม ซึ่งจะแสดงให้เห็นถึงความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างโหนดในรูปเครือข่าย การวิเคราะห์เชิงปริมาณ สามารถใช้ในการวัดระดับความไว้วางใจระหว่างผู้กำหนดนโยบาย ในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมนี้

ประเด็นที่ 1 - ข้อมูลพื้นฐาน

ชื่อองค์กร/หน่วยงานที่ท่านสังกัด:

.....

ลักษณะขององค์กรที่ท่านสังกัด

☐ หน่วยงานภาครัฐ หรือ องค์กรปกครองส่วนท้องถิ่น

☐ หน่วยงานภาคประชาสังคม

พื้นที่/จังหวัด:

☐ จังหวัดสงขลา

☐ จังหวัดบุรีรัมย์

ประเด็นที่ 2 – ลักษณะโครงสร้างและธรรมชาติของการปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างภาครัฐและภาคประชาสังคม

กรุณาระบุรายชื่อขององค์กรหรือหน่วยงานที่ท่านคิดว่าเป็นหุ้นส่วนสัมพันธ์หรือพันธมิตรในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมในระดับท้องถิ่น ลงในพื้นที่ที่จัดไว้ให้ โดยเรียงตามลำดับความสัมพันธ์อันดี มาก

ไปยังความสัมพันธ์อันดีน้อย

องค์กรที่ 1: _____

องค์กรที่ 2: _____

องค์กรที่ 3: _____

องค์กรที่ 4: _____

องค์กรที่ 5: _____

องค์กรที่ 6: _____

องค์กรที่ 7: _____

องค์กรที่ 9: _____

องค์กรที่ 10: _____

ข้อชี้แจง: กรุณาใช้ข้อมูลจากรายชื่อองค์กรข้างต้นในการตอบแบบสอบถามส่วนถัดไป

โดยกรุณาทำเครื่องหมาย “X” ในช่องสี่เหลี่ยมที่ให้ไว้ ซึ่งตอบได้มากกว่า 1 ช่อง

กรุณาตอบตามความคิดเห็นของท่าน

ประเด็นที่ 3 – การวัดระดับความไว้วางใจ

โดยกรณำทำเครื่องหมาย “X” ในช่องสี่เหลี่ยมด้านขวามือ กรุณาตอบตามความคิดเห็นของตัวท่าน

ประเด็นคำถาม	1 ไม่เห็นด้วย อย่างยิ่ง	2 ไม่เห็นด้วย บางส่วน	3 ไม่มีความ คิดเห็น	4 เห็นด้วย บางส่วน	5 เห็นด้วยอย่าง ยิ่ง
3.1 โดยภาพรวม องค์กรภาครัฐ/ภาคประชาสังคม สามารถไว้วางใจได้ในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม					
3.2 คุณไม่จำเป็นต้องระวังตัวมาก ในการทำงานร่วมกับองค์กรภาครัฐ/ภาคประชาสังคม ในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม ในขั้นตอนของการกำหนดนโยบายร่วมกัน					
3.3 โดยส่วนใหญ่ องค์กรภาครัฐ/ภาคประชาสังคม จะแสดงพฤติกรรมหรือความรู้สึกยินดี ในการที่มีองค์กรหรือภาคส่วนอื่นๆ เข้าร่วมในเครือข่ายนโยบาย					
3.4 ในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม โดยส่วนใหญ่ องค์กรภาครัฐ/ภาคประชาสังคม จะนำเสนอข้อมูล ที่จำเป็นและสำคัญต่อกระบวนการกำหนดนโยบายแก่องค์กรอื่นๆ					
3.5 ในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม อาจกล่าวได้ว่า องค์กรภาครัฐและภาคประชาสังคม สามารถไว้วางใจไว้ซึ่งกันและกันได้					

ประเด็นที่ 4 – เทคนิคโน้ตบอลสำหรับการสัมภาษณ์

กรุณาระบุรายชื่อของผู้ที่มีบทบาทหรือประสบการณ์สูงในเครือข่ายนโยบายสาธารณะ
สิ่งแวดล้อม จำนวน 10 รายชื่อ พร้อมทั้งระบุองค์กรที่บุคคลนั้นสังกัดเพื่อสะดวกในการ
ติดต่อสัมภาษณ์ต่อไป

ที่	ชื่อ- สกุล	หน่วยงานสังกัด
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		

ส่วนที่ 2 การสัมภาษณ์แบบมีโครงสร้าง

รายงานฉบับนี้มีการเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลเชิงคุณภาพ เพื่อทำความเข้าใจถึงพฤติกรรมการทำงานร่วมกันและมุมมองของผู้มีส่วนร่วมในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมนี้ โดยการกระบวนการสัมภาษณ์

แนวคำถามสำหรับการสัมภาษณ์

1. ท่านสังกัดหน่วยงานใดในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม
2. ท่านเข้าร่วมเป็นสมาชิกในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมมาเป็นระยะเวลานานเท่าไร
3. ท่านมีบทบาทใดและหน้าที่ใดในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม
4. ท่านได้มีโอกาสเข้าร่วมกิจกรรมหรือมีปฏิสัมพันธ์ใดๆกับองค์อื่นในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมหรือไม่
5. เหตุใดท่านถึงตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม
6. ท่านคิดว่าภาครัฐเองมีกลยุทธ์ในการส่งเสริมความร่วมมือในการทำงานร่วมกันระหว่างภาครัฐและภาคประชาสังคมในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม หรือไม่ อย่างไร
7. ท่านคิดว่าเครือข่ายนโยบายเป็นสิ่งใหม่สำหรับสังคมไทยหรือไม่ อย่างไร
8. ภายใต้รัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย พ.ศ.2550 มีอะไรที่มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงที่สำคัญใน เครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อมหรือไม่ อย่างไร
9. ท่านมีอะไรที่จะแนะนำหรือข้อคิดเห็นในการส่งเสริมความเข้มแข็งของเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม โดยเฉพาะการส่งเสริมการทำงานร่วมกันระหว่างภาครัฐและภาคประชาสังคม
10. ท่านมีแผนงานใดๆในอนาคตในการพัฒนาการมีส่วนร่วมที่มีประสิทธิภาพในกระบวนการตัดสินใจในเครือข่ายนโยบายสิ่งแวดล้อม